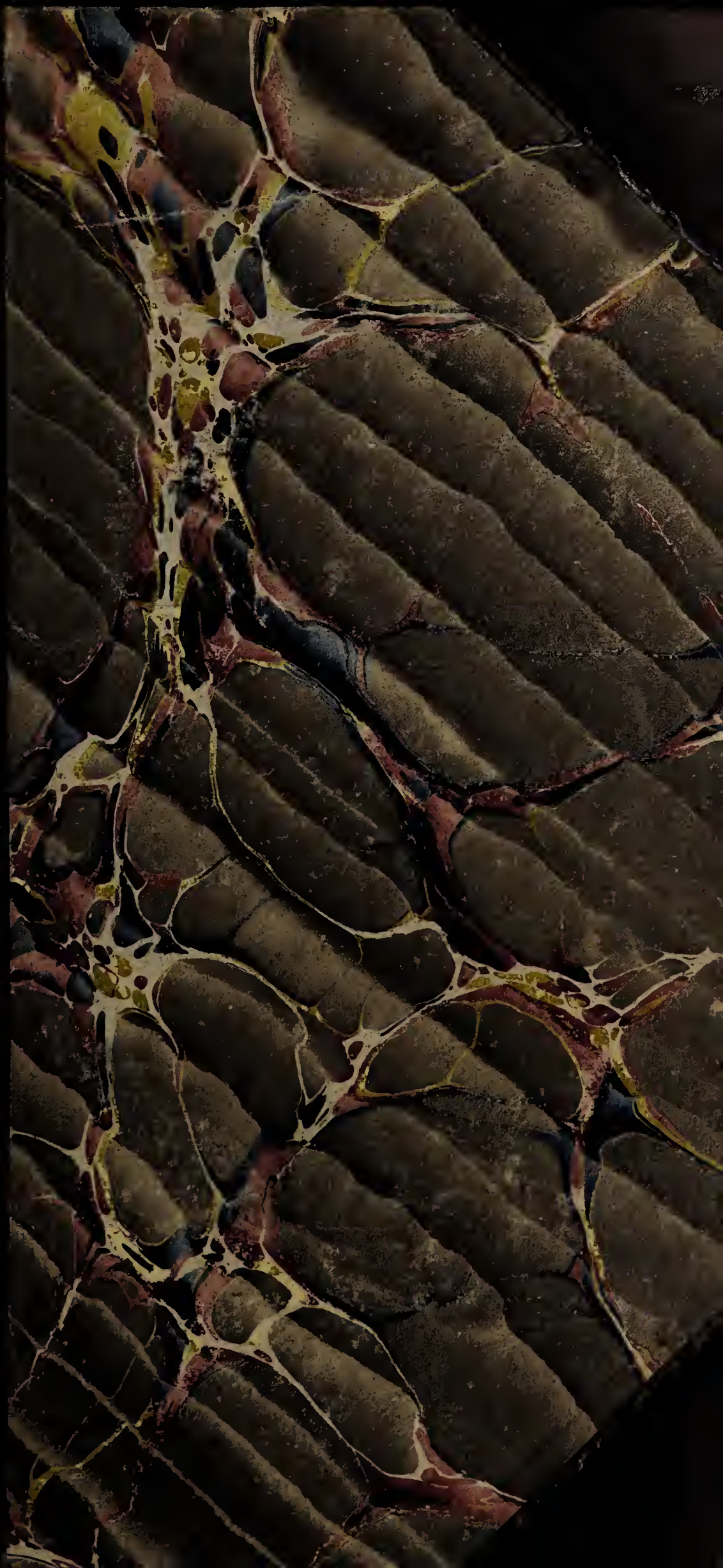

IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

366.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN, THEIR LIVES AND TIMES.

BY

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"The mind of a nation, when long-fettered and exasperated, will struggle and bound, and when a chasm is opened, will escape through it, like lava from the crater of a volcano."—J. K. L.

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THE

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THEIR

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CHAPTER I.

Henry and John Sheares, the subjects of this memoir, were the sons of Mr. Henry Sheares, of Cork, whose memory, even at this day, is held in the highest veneration in his native city. This gentleman had been an eminent banker in Cork; and from 1762 to 1767, sat in the Irish parliament for the borough of Cloghnakilty. He was a man of considerable learning and abilities; and whether as a political writer, or as a literary essayist, his talents appear to have been of the highest order.

His conduct in parliament in a session of memorable interest, obtained for him the general respect of his countrymen. His literary essays, which he was in the habit of publishing in the periodicals, from 1710 to 1776, chiefly under the signature of "Agricola" and "The Modern Monitor," would do honour to any writer of the present day. One of

these, an Essay on Forgiveness, some extracts from which will be found in the appendix, exhibits the finest feelings of christian benevolence, combined with literary talents highly cultivated.

At the expiration of sixty years the humanity of Henry Sheares is still felt and appreciated in his native city. The Society for the Relief of Persons confined for Small Debts, was one of those institutions which owed its being to his benevolence, in the year 1777. But the character of this most amiable man I find so fully, and I believe justly, set forth in one of the periodicals for the year 1776, the year of his decease, that such a memorial, I am sure, of one who was the Howard of his native place, cannot be unacceptable to the reader, or irrelevant to my subject:—the "Hibernian Chronicle," printed in Cork, by Mr. William Flynn, speaks in the following terms, on the subject of Mr. Sheares's decease:—

"He is gone for ever from amongst us. I never held a pen on a more melancholy occasion; being neither able to remember his life and virtues without veneration, nor to mention his name but with tears. The city of Cork has had its chief ornament torn from it; his wife has lost the husband who adored her; his children—numerous and inexperienced—the wing that covered them; his friends—a gentleman of noble endowments and liberal affections; the whole community—a man from whose pen they derived both profit and pleasure, instruction and entertainment. As a husband, a father, a friend, and a citizen, he might be esteemed a most perfect model of imitation. No relation did he abuse; or

was he capable of abusing. His life was not only free from faults that invite censure, but filled with actions that deserve praise. In him, youth was a preparation for manhood—manhood for age, and age for immortality. In times that nearly touched the extreme of corruption or barbarity—at an age when licentiousness is scarcely deemed a vice, this enlightened character exhibited an uncommon example of assiduity in the cultivation of his talents—of moderation and refinement in the choice of his pleasures. Accordingly, the labours of his youth blossomed in the honours of his age. From parliament, where his distinguished abilities might have raised him to the highest posts of power or profit, he chose to retire with a moderate requital of his services; thinking the tumults of ambition, the disquietudes that attend, and the disappointments that cross it, to be well exchanged for the endearments of love, the enjoyments of friendship, the discharge of humane and social duties, the pursuits of industry, and the nobler pleasures that result from the improvements of reason, and the exercises of religion. In public he was honoured and admired; in private, respected and beloved. His understanding and virtues ensured him an esteem and authority which no station alone could command—no rank could procure. On the few, whose hearts he had tried, he bestowed an unlimited confidence and affection. To the rest of mankind, particularly to those who needed it most, he imparted a share of the blessings which heaven had poured profusely upon him. He was

always endeavouring to relieve the distresses of the indigent—to redress the injuries of the oppressed! The charitable institutions which do honour to the city of Cork, particularly the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts, are principally indebted to his inventive humanity for their rise, and to his activity for their countenance. He saw into the human heart, but with the meekness of a christian—not the moroseness of a cynic. His contempt for the vices of the world did not extinguish his pity for their sufferings. When he wrote, instruction was incessantly flowing from his pen. To dissipate the clouds of vice, to check the wanderings of error, to enlighten the darkness of ignorance, to animate the slow, to refresh the faint, and to confirm the persevering, in the tasks of virtue and benevolence, was the perpetual employment and delight of a mind intent on the glory and perfection of its species. For this he was eminently qualified; not less by the excellence of his heart than by the superiority of his understanding. The essays with which he obliged the public through this paper, bespoke him the generous friend of mankind, the steady assertor and advocate of virtue, the ingenious reasoner, and the liberal religionist. It would be presumption in me to decide on his merit, compared with other writers of this class; yet, in my opinion, no moralist—not even Mr. Addison—has excelled him in this species of composition. I will not enter into a detail of his other excellent qualities. Let it be sufficient to say, that he is now bringing to perfection

that mind in heaven, which he cultivated for the honour of God, and the advantage of his fellow-creatures on earth.—A. A."

The remains of Mr. Sheares, were interred in Cork, in the church-yard of St. Nicholas; and, little to the honour of his native city, no monument has been erected to his memory. But, if the good people of Cork would only remember, that it is never too late to do justice to the dead, the virtues of this truly good and benevolent man would not be long without some tribute to them.

Many years after the death of Mr. Sheares, at a dramatic entertainment for the benefit of the Cork Society for the Relief and Discharge of Persons confined for Small Debts, which owed its origin and being to Mr. Sheares, the following allusion was made to its founder, in the prologue spoken on that occasion:—

"Yes! some there are—who feel delight to cheer
The broken heart, and dry affliction's tear,—
Bid the poor debtor pass the prison door,
And launch his hopes on life's expanse once more.
Peace to the hallowed shade of him, to whom
The poor still owe—a refuge and a home!

If it be asked—Who sought each scene of woe—
Came with glad tidings beaming on his brow—
Diffused new blessings round, from Mercy's store,—
Bid virtue smile where vice had reigned before,—
Cheered the distress'd, and dried afflictions tears?
A thousand grateful hearts respond—''Twas Sheares!'"

The father of this benevolent man died in 1750. He left three children: Henry, the subject of the

preceding lines; Thomas, who entered the army, served with some distinction in the "Seven Years' War," married a Spanish lady at Minorca, retired on half-pay in 1763, and died shortly after, without issue; and David, who took orders, a young man of considerable talents, and much promise in his profession—he died early, and was not married.

Henry, soon after his father's death, married Miss Jane Anne Bettesworth, sister of Sergeant Bettesworth, and a relative of the Earl of Shannon. This lady was highly accomplished, and possessed of every quality of the mind and heart that could endear her to a man of Sheares's disposition, tastes, and habits. The match was one of pure affection; and, in their case, "the current of true love" did "run smooth," from the commencement of its course, till it terminated in death. "The Dublin Magazine," for the year 1798, in an article on the family of the Sheares—evidently written by one well acquainted with it—among other circumstances connected with the literary and parliamentary pursuits of the elder Sheares, mentions his having established a private club, where popular and literary subjects were debated; "and his speeches," says the writer, "were long remembered by his friends, as pleasing memorials of great historical knowledge, a fine taste, and graceful elocution."

"His sons," this writer states, "the late Henry and John Sheares, had the best masters to attend them in the house, under his own eye: he narrowly inspected what company they kept; and, at a proper age, they were sent to the University, where, being

young men of good natural parts, they acquired a considerable degree of reputation."

Mr. Henry Sheares died in the spring of 1776; and I find his will was proved in the Prerogative Court, the 14th day of May in that year. He directs that his remains should be interred by night, and in the most private manner. This request is found also expressed in the will of his father, Mr. Henry Sheares of Golden Bush, in the county of Cork, proved in the year 1750, wherein he directs that the expense of his funeral shall not exceed five pounds. The same desire is also specified in the will of Mrs. Jane Anne Sheares, the mother of Henry and John, to be buried as privately as possible, in the vault of Mr. Rogers of Cork, where the remains of her excellent husband are laid, provided the expense did not exceed ten pounds; but if more, in the words of Scripture, employed by the testator, "where the tree falls there let it lie."

Mr. Sheares had carried on the banking business, in Cork, for many years, in conjunction with Dr. Rogers and Mr. Travers, gentlemen of landed property in the county. In Smith's "History of Cork," published in 1750, the name of Henry Sheares is found in the list of magistrates of the county; and by the "Parliamentary Debates" for the year 1763-4, he appears to have taken an active part in the proceedings of the house.

In the journals of the house, 30th of November, 1765, I find the following entry:—

"Ordered, that leave be given to bring in the heads of a bill for the better regulation of trials in

cases of treason and felony; and that Mr. Sheares, Mr. M'Aulay and Dr. Lucas, do prepare and bring in the bill."

The bill was brought in by Mr. Sheares, and committed the 31st of January, 1766; received an additional clause the 11th of March, and passed into law June 7th, 1766.

I have been particular in specifying these circumstances, as an erroneous opinion generally prevails, even among well-informed people—that it was a clause in this bill, introduced by Mr. Sheares, by which the evidence of one witness, was declared sufficient, in cases of treason, to convict in Ireland. But having carefully examined this short act, I find there is not one word on the subject of evidence in it; but the whole tenor of the act, is in favour of the accused persons—its two chief clauses being to the following effect:—

"That the prisoner shall be furnished with a copy of the indictment, five clear days before trial, on application for the same; and shall be admitted to defend himself by counsel, and the court shall on his request assign him counsel, not exceeding two."—5th Geo. III.

The patron of the borough for which Mr. Sheares sat in parliament, was his friend, Richard Earl of Shannon, whose successor, at the period of the Union, had no less than thirteen boroughs at his disposal; and disposing of them to the best advantage, according to Sir Jonah Barrington, received at the rate of £15,000, for each borough.*

* Vide Barrington's Memoirs of the Union, vol. ii. 378.

Mr. Sheares's name is to be found in the pension list, presented to the House of Commons, in 1771; the sum of £200 per annum having been granted to him, on the score of his services, which pension was continued to him, till he obtained the lucrative appointment of Weigh Master of the City of Cork.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Sheares left a numerous family. The names of the children mentioned in his will are, Henry, Robert Bettesworth, Richard, John, and Christopher Humphrey; Letitia, Mary, Jane Anne Bettesworth, and Julia.

Mrs. Sheares was left sole executrix: and, "to his dear friend, the Earl of Shannon," Bayley and Joseph Rogers, (and not to his friend Carleton, one of the judges, who presided at the trial of his sons, as it is generally supposed) he committed the charge of watching over the interests of his wife and children.

His real estate and personal property, devolved on his eldest son Henry, subject to an annuity of £200 a-year to Mrs. Sheares. The sum of £2,500 he left for the advancement of his youngest son. In the "Annual Register," an account is given of this family, in which there are several erroneous statements respecting the property left to the widow and children of the elder Sheares, and the fortune which his son Henry is there stated to have received with Miss Swete on his marriage, namely, £600 a-year.

Christopher entered the army, and died at an early age of yellow fever, in the West Indies. Richard entered the navy, and rose to the rank of lieutenant, and perished on board his majesty's ship Thunderer, which ship sailed from St. Helen's with the other vessels of the British fleet, in 1778, under the command of Admiral Keppel, and was lost on the West India station, in the great hurricane of October, 1779, the Honourable Robert Boyle Walsingham, son of the first Earl of Shannon, then having his broad-pennant on board the Thunderer. Robert Sheares, at a very early age, was drowned in attempting to save his brother John, when they were bathing together. I am informed by a lady, to whom I am indebted for much information respecting the latter, that she had often heard John say, with great emotion, that "he had caused the death of two of his brothers: one, who was drowned in attempting to save him, when a boy; and Christopher, his youngest brother, who being reluctant to go to the West Indies, he had persuaded to go there." Henry was born in 1753: he entered the army at an early age, and first served in the fifty-first regiment of foot. He subsequently renounced the military for the legal profession. John was nearly thirteen years younger than his brother, and was born about the year 1766. He was placed under the care of the Rev. G. Lee, of Cork; and appears to have distinguished himself there in his fifteenth year.

By a singular accident, a set of books, "The Beauties of the Spectator," recently fell into my hands, which had found their way to a bookstall,

from the sale of the library of a clergyman of the name of M'Namara, a native of Cork, latterly resident in Dublin; on the back of these volumes, the words: "Reverend Mr. Lee's premium to John Sheares," are stamped in gold letters; and on opening the books, I found the customary engraving—of a youth, led by the hand of Science, towards a temple where Fame is stationed at the portals, holding a myrtle crown to the advancing student: underneath, there is the usual printed form, with the names and dates written upwards of sixty years ago, in the following terms:—

"At a public examination, held in the Reverend Mr. Lee's school, Cork, on February 19th, 1781, this premium was given to John Sheares, for his distinguished merit, in answering in the sixth book of Virgil's Æneid. President: G. Lee."

I know not whether the mention of this premium, the proof and recompense of youthful merit, may excite the same melancholy feelings which the accidental discovery of it called forth; but no man, who ever felt a father's hopes, or shared in those of an affectionate family, can picture to himself the fond expectations which this first indication of dawning merit might seem to warrant, and recall, unmoved, the mournful issue of those hopes in the case of the ill-fated John Sheares. By the college books, I find, that he entered the university of Dublin as a pensioner, the 20th January, 1783, under Mr. Slack, his college tutor.

Of the daughters of Henry Sheares, one was married to Mr. Gubbins, of Limerick; another, to

Mr. Henry Westropp; another, to Doctor Payne, of Upton; a fourth, Julia, the favourite sister of her unfortunate brother John, was not married, and died a few years ago.

Mrs. Sheares had the misfortune to survive all her children, with the exception of her daughter Julia. Four of her sons perished by untimely ends, previously to her death: her amiable spirit was sorely tried by afflictions; and in mercy, they terminated soon after the last and direst calamity of all fell upon her children, in 1798. Inscrutable, indeed, are the dispensations of Providence; the sins of the fathers are visited on the children of the unrighteous, to the third and fourth generation; but the noblest virtues of the parents are not always sufficient to shield their offspring from the direst calamities! Such is the will of Heaven, and we bow to those decrees which human wisdom cannot comprehend, but more than reason brings us to believe, are planned by wisdom that is not human, and ordained for ends that are not evil.

The eldest brother Henry, succeeded to property estimated at £1,200 a year. He was by no means successful, however, in his management, and was ultimately obliged to dispose of some portion of it. It would still have been ample for his support, with ordinary prudence; and the circumstance of his son Richard Benjamin, at his decease, in November 1835, having left the property he inherited from his father, estimated at about £600 a-year, shews that his means were still considerable, however embarrassed they had been. Through Lord Shannon's

interest, Henry Sheares obtained a commission in the 51st regiment of foot, but he did not continue in the army above three years. He was twice married; his first wife, was the only daughter of Mr. Swete, of Cork, supposed at the time of his marriage to be possessed of immense wealth. When Lord Clare was a young, struggling barrister, (then Mr. Fitzgibbon,) before he had become acquainted with Miss Whaley, whom he married, in July, 1786, he had paid his addresses to Miss Swete, and had been rejected. She subsequently eloped with Henry Sheares; and the rejected admirer never forgot or forgave the success of his rival. Henry Sheares was married to Miss Swete, in the month of April, 1782.

This circumstance deserves to be remembered, and to be recalled, when the failure is referred to, of every effort that was made to save this rival from an ignominious death; and the cause of that failure, is attributed, it is to be feared with too much justice, to the implacable hostility of Lord Clare, to both the brothers, but particularly to the elder. Miss Swete, who, it was generally imagined, was to have a large fortune, in the usual vagueness of Irish calculation on such subjects, estimated at that time at £50,000, was no sooner married, than her father failed, and all the rumoured dowry vanished into air. About the period of this occurrence, he had some thoughts of offering himself as a candidate for the representation of his native city; but whatever steps he might have taken in canvassing, on that occasion, it does not appear that he entered on the contest. The

consequences of his father-in-law's embarrassments, obliged him to study the law as a profession, having previously retired from the army.

Henry Sheares was called to the bar in the Michaelmas term of 1789; his brother, John, having been admitted a barrister the year previously. He removed to Dublin and entered on his profession. From the commencement of their career in that city, they resided together; first, in apartments on Ormond Quay, at the house of a Miss Reid; and from 1796, in the house in Bagot-street, at the corner of Pembroke-street, in which they continued to live to the time of their arrest.

Mrs. Sheares died on the 11th of December, 1791, and was interred in the burying-ground of St. Peter's Church, Aungier-street, where the tombstone placed over her remains by her husband still exists, bearing the following inscription:—

"Here lies the body of Mrs. Alicia Young Sheares,
The beloved and lamented wife of Henry Sheares,
Who departed this life the 11th December, 1791,
In the 34th year of her age."

And at no great distance from this grave, in the same churchyard, the remains of Lord Clare are buried, and these words are inscribed on the stone erected to his memory, which is indeed less likely to perish than the monument itself:—

"Here lieth the body of John Fitzgibbon,
EARL OF CLARE,
Lord High Chancellor of Ireland,
Who departed this life the 28th of May, 1802,
Aged 54 years."

The Hotspur of his party, who caused the land to tremble at his name, lies here at rest; the turbulent, overbearing politician, who set the country in a flame, is still and quiet as the meanest of the dead.

> "Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
> When that this body did contain a spirit,
> A kingdom for it was too small a bound;
> But now, two paces of the vilest earth
> Is room enough."

After the death of Mrs. Sheares, her children were taken under the care of their grandmother.

The circumstances of Mr. and Mrs. Swete, about this time, rendering it necessary for them to quit their native country, they went to one of the French provinces, and took the three eldest of the children with them. In the year 1792, Henry Sheares paid a visit to France, to see his children, and was accompanied by his brother. The Revolution in that country was then making rapid progress; and the stirring events that were taking place in the capital, led the brothers to Paris, where they remained for some weeks. During their residence in the French capital, they became acquainted with the leading men of the revolution, and intimately so with Roland and Brissot. They attended the meetings of various political societies; they became interested in the questions that were then the general subjects of discussion; and those subjects were certainly calculated to excite the imagination, and to inflame the political feelings of the young and inexperienced of any country; but more especially, of one in which liberty had lately achieved a partial triumph, and had still left more political evils to be redressed, than perhaps existed

in any other part of Europe at that time. Their language, at some of these meetings, in reference to Irish politics, was considered by some of their own countrymen then in Paris—and of their own politics—as imprudent and unguarded. The dangers of these societies have been eloquently pointed out by one of the master spirits of the Irish bar, at a period before the duties of the bench and the political obligations it imposed, had "shorne the profession of one of the most splendid of its beams."

"What man," said Bushe, in one of his speeches against the Union, "can answer for himself, in going into a self-constituted political society? His first steps are deliberate—his motives are good—his passions warm; as he proceeds, the applause given to moderation intoxicates him—the vehemence of debate elates him: he begins a patriot—he ends a revolutionist. Is this fancy or history? I well remember—who can forget?—the first National Assembly of France; composed of every thing most honourable, gallant, venerable and patriotic, in the kingdom, called together for the noblest and purest purposes. The nobility and the prelacy united with the representatives of the people—and the three estates promised the regeneration of the country. What was the result? The wise, and the good and virtuous, were put down or brought over, by the upstart, and the factious, and the demagogue. They knew not the lengths they were going: they were hurried on by an increasing attraction, step by step, and day after day, to that vortex, in which have been buried even the ruins of every establishment, reli-

gious and political, and from whose womb has sprung that colossal despotism which now frowns upon mankind. * * * * * * * * *

"The very nature and constitution of a self-constituted assembly, generates danger and encourages excess. Compare such a constitution with the established authorities of the land, all controlled, confined to their respective spheres, balancing and gravitating to each other—all symmetry—all order—all harmony! Behold, on the other hand, this prodigy in the political hemisphere, with eccentric course and portentous glare, bound by no attraction, disclaiming any orbit, disturbing the system, and affrighting the world!"*

The figure of the political planets, "all symmetry—all order—all harmony," as applicable to Ireland at that period, is fetched, indeed, from the upper regions of imagination: and as applicable to that parliament, on which its own members were already laying their suicidal hands, nothing can be more preposterous; but the beauty of the imagery almost compensates for the absurdity of the application.

But with regard to the other observations, few men who have lived in troubled times, or read the history of the chief actors therein, will be disposed to call in question the justice of them. But it is to be remembered that Bushe, on this occasion, was reading the history of these societies by the light of their ultimate perversion to the worst of passions, in the worst of times; and that the Sheares's acquaintance with them was made seven years before, when the world

* Vide Phillips's Specimens of Irish Eloquence.

was not yet dazzled with the portentous glare of the revolutionary prodigy; and its eccentric course had then scarcely began to deviate from its orbit, and to confound the speculations of its observers.

From 1789 to the summer of 1792, the French Revolution was conducted with comparative moderation, and never was there more ability displayed than the events of that time had called into activity. The subject of good government was ably and fearlessly discussed; and the well-being of the people was the professed end and aim of all political enquiry.

No wonder if the minds of those who attended these discussions—probably at first from motives of curiosity—were eventually excited by such topics, and that they suffered themselves to be led away by the enthusiasm which surrounded them.

The wonder is, not that such a result should take place; but while we flatter ourselves, were we placed in such circumstances we would have resisted every evil influence, we have reason to be thankful our lot has not been like that of our fathers—in youth, and without experience, to be launched on those tempestuous times, where it did not always—or even often happen, that it was the worst of men who braved the storm, or perished in it. It is certain that the visit of the Sheares to France produced a marked effect on the political sentiments of both the brothers, and was noticed by many of their friends on their return.

In the latter part of 1794, or beginning of 1795, Henry made the acquaintance of Miss Sarah Neville, the daughter of Mr. Neville of Mary Mount, in the

county Kilkenny, of a highly respectable family. Mrs. Neville was the sister of Sir Robert Hudson, and her husband, the brother of Mr. Brent Neville, Sheriff's Peer and merchant of Dublin. Shortly after their intimacy, Miss Neville became the wife of Henry Sheares. Those who knew her well, describe her as no less remarkable for her beauty than her accomplishments.

The library of the Sheares was said—by one well qualified to form an opinion on such a subject—to be one of the best selected private collections that person had ever seen. Henry was not a man of very studious or of remarkable intellectual powers; but was possessed of moderate abilities, and a taste for the literature of the day; had considerable conversational powers—expressed himself clearly, and generally, strongly: on subjects which engaged his feelings, he spoke with vehemence, and apparent brusqueness, which many persons interpreted as an evidence of an overbearing temper, and of hauteur, but which all those intimately acquainted with him in private life, considered as attributable to a peculiarity of manner, rather than to his natural disposition. He was honourable in his principles, frank and ingenuous. In quitting the army he had not shaken off the military air and carriage; and there was, by all accounts, a dash of the soldier in his deportment and mode of expression, that denoted qualities better suited for the camp than the inns of court. He was fond of society; and to use the words of one of its brightest ornaments, who knew him well, "he was fitted for its highest circles." His fondness for

shew—for the luxuries of life, as well as for its pleasures—were little calculated to give any impression of republican simplicity, or indeed, to justify the opinion that his principles were originally of a very democratic character. Had he entered the political arena half a century later, there is every reason to conjecture, his opinions would hardly have gone far enough for the party of the out-and-out reformers in these days. Treason in his time was not a mere act of overt hostility to the sovereign, or of violence against his authority; but every man who advocated reform, and deprecated parliamentary corruption, was designated a "traitor" by the members of administration; and hostility to that administration, however constitutionally carried on, was regarded as "seditious," and branded in parliament by that opprobrious term.

It is easy, and even consolatory now, to the feelings of political leaders, when their opinions travel swiftly and commodiously on the railways of reform, to upbraid the opponents of oppression, the vehicles of whose opposition were dragged over the rough road of parliamentary corruption, and to include all who made themselves obnoxious to the enemies of reform, in the sweeping obloquy of a term that has often been imposed before it has been deserved. In the case of the Sheares, long before either brother was involved in the guilt of treason, the opinions they expressed in favour of reform and Catholic emancipation, were denounced by Lord Clare, in his place in parliament; and the elder brother, in par-

ticular, was stigmatized by that intemperate man as a disaffected person.

It was the policy of the time to render every man suspected of disaffection, who took any part in politics adverse to the views of the faction which swayed the administration. The government, in fact, was in the hands of the Beresfords and Fitzgibbons.*

The brothers, on their return from France, became members of the United Irishmen society. The earliest account I find of either taking any part in the proceedings of those meetings, is of one which took place in the month of August, 1793. At that period, none but men eminent for their talents, rank in society or professional ability, usually presided over their meetings. From the commencement of the society to the year 1794, among the persons we find filling the chair, are the Honourable Simon Butler, Dr. Drennan, Bagenal Beauchamp Harvey, and John Sheares. The latter, when he presided at the meeting of the society, on the 16th of August, 1793, called for the purpose of preparing and presenting an address to Messrs. Butler and Bond, recently liberated from confinement, had only then attained his twenty-seventh year; and at a time when the society abounded with men of rank and talent, so young a man as John Sheares to have been called to the chair, shews that he must have been held in high repute by his associates.

* The Honourable William Beresford, Archbishop of Tuam, married the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgibbon, sister to the Chancellor.

The part taken by both brothers, in the proceedings of the society at this time, was such as moderate reformers, in our days, might be supposed to take.

The society had not then swerved from its first character, and abandoned its original constitution. That both were unobjectionable, we have the admission of Mr. Pollock, a writer, the most able antagonist of that society, at a latter period, when the new organization took place, and the only writer, of all the political scribblers of that period, hostile to the United Irishmen society, whose arguments, it would be difficult for even the ablest of the United Irishmen to refute.

Pollock, speaking of this society, in his admirable letters, addressed to the inhabitants of Newry, in 1792, says: "In making war on the United Irishmen of Dublin, I attack a society, whose first establishment and principles, in their spirit and general tendency, I approved of; of which, but for some trifling accident—some lucky or unlucky circumstances, in their formation, I should myself have been a member, or proposed as such. I take liberties with a body of men, some few individuals of whom, that I have lived in a degree of intimacy with—men of considerable talents, and I believe, of much private worth—I feel a personal, and even affectionate regard for; a body, to the great majority of whom, as individuals, I attribute perfectly good intentions towards their country, and even its constitution, so far as the majority have taken the trouble or used the means to understand it; and to whom, as a society, I leave

this testimony of my private opinion: that they have contributed to raise, assimilate, and warm into new life and energy, the divided, and thereby depressed spirits of their countrymen. Happy, had they but known where to stop!" *

The writer points out the matters, in which, he considers, they had shown indiscretion: namely, "in merging the simple discussion of the question of emancipation and reform, in theoretical disquisitions on the principles of government," &c. &c.

Neither in the speeches, nor in the writings of the Sheares, at the period of the address presented to Messrs. Butler and Bond, was there any matter, in the slightest degree, of a treasonable character, or of a seditious tendency; yet it was regarded at that time, as such; and henceforth, the language of Lord Clare, whenever he spoke of the Sheares, was that of violent invective, nay, of vindictive bitterness.

Violence begets violence: and it certainly was so, with respect to Fitzgibbon's intemperance; for it is admitted by those most intimately acquainted with the Sheares, that they gave vent to their feelings of resentment against Lord Fitzgibbon, in the loudest terms of reproach. This partizan judge, it is well known, carried with him his inveterate animosity to his political opponents, even on the bench. The ear of the judge was never for an advocate of politics opposite his own. In the case of Curran, he carried this spirit of judicial rancour to the extent of virtually banishing him from his court; and according to the

* Vide Pollock's Letters to the Inhabitants of Newry, 1793. Letter IX.

account given by the son in his admirable life of his father, he estimated his losses from Fitzgibbon's conduct towards him, at £30,000.

Curran had, many years before Fitzgibbon had become chancellor, fought a duel with him; and when he gained the bench, "Lord Clare remembered the resentments of Mr. Fitzgibbon, and avenged the wounds he had received in the senate, by excluding Mr. Curran from all practise in his court." *

Very nearly in the same terms, the friend of the Sheares communicates to me the injury inflicted on them, in their professional capacities, by the evident discountenance they met with from Lord Clare, in his judicial character; and however trifling their losses might be, in comparison with those of Curran, the public knowledge of the ear of the court being closed against them, at the very onset of their professional career, was enough to ruin their prospects of advancement;—and they attributed the ruin of them to Lord Clare.

The offence of advocating reform was like the crime of Mr. Grogan, in presiding at a public meeting in Wexford, hostile to the administration—a sufficient motive for calling in question the loyalty of that old gentleman, and keeping the suspicion of treason suspended over his head till the insurrection "exploded," and the offence against the faction was expiated in blood. "For a similar offence, of opposition to the measures of administration—years before the outbreak of the rebellion—Sir Edward Crosbie was likewise suspected of disaf-

* Vide Life of Curran, vol. i.

fection to the faction; and he, too, when the day of reckoning came, in 1798, "was sacrificed in the confusion of the times."

He died the death of a traitor, indeed; but many an innocent man, besides Sir Edward Crosbie, has been called a traitor, whose murderers posterity denominates miscreants.

Sir Jonah Barrington states:—"The execution of Sir Edward Crosbie was a murder,—that of Mr. Grogan a butchery. The viceroy had signed no warrants for the execution: he was not consulted concerning the prisoners, till their fate had been decided." *

If Crosbie and Grogan failed to realize the suspicions which were formed of their fidelity—if the injustice that was done them by such suspicions had not carried their indignation to such terms of desperation, as had driven the Sheares into rebellion,—they fared no better: they had all incurred the displeasure of the faction; and their conduct as political opponents, or even as private adversaries, was sufficient to establish their criminality, as men of republican principles and traitors.

The first cause of Lord Clare's animosity to the Sheares, was of as old a date as the marriage of Henry with Miss Swete, of Cork; and there is even much reason to fear, that Lord Clare never forgot or forgave the preference given to his rival in this affair. The next circumstance that created ill-will took place in 1793, on the occasion of Henry Sheares demanding an explanation of the injurious

* Vide Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, p. 375-6.

language used by the former, in his place in parliament, in reference to a speech delivered at one of the meetings of United Irishmen. An explanation was demanded and refused: a sort of verbal communication, however, was made, which satisfied the friend of Henry Sheares, but which was any thing but satisfactory to the injured party.

The following account of this affair, is extracted from the account of the proceedings of the society of United Irishmen, printed privately, in 1794.

July 26, 1794.

"UNITED IRISHMEN.

HENRY SHEARES *having been requested to leave the Chair,*

JAMES DIXON, Chairman.

WILLIAM LEVINGTON WEBB, Sec.

The following Publication was read.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE following Paragraph appeared in the FREEMAN'S JOURNAL on *Saturday* 20th inst. and afterwards in other prints, as a part of the Lord Chancellor's Speech in the House of Lords.

PARAGRAPH.

'*There were in* Dublin *two persons who were members of the* French Jacobin Club, *and who, his Lordship believed, were in the pay of that Society to foment sedition in this country. One of their names appeared at the head of a printed paper published last month by the* UNITED IRISHMEN, *to which Society they also belonged.*'

On perusal of the above paragraph, Henry Sheares informed the meeting he wrote the following letter to his lordship:—

'My Lord,

'Having this day seen in the public prints of yesterday, a gross and infamous calumny, which from the strength of its allusions, I cannot avoid considering as directed against me, I think it incumbent on me, to address myself to your lordship, prior to taking any step towards the punishment of its author.

'I am induced to take this liberty, my lord, from the circumstances of your lordship's name having been made use of (falsely, I am persuaded) to sanction the malignant falsehood contained in that publication. It is therein asserted, that your lordship, in the House of Lords, represented me as a member and agent of the *Jacobin Club* in *France*, and employed by them to foment sedition in this country; an assertion, which I am bound to believe as ill founded, in relation to your lordship, as I know it to be false in respect to me. Assuring your lordship of my perfect conviction, that such an accusation could never have proceeded from the alleged source, I take the liberty of requesting that your lordship will authorize me to assert, that the publication was unwarranted by any thing that fell from your lordship, and that I may have your lordship's permission for such legal proceedings against the publisher as may seem advisable.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's
most obedient very humble servant,

Baggot-street, 'HENRY SHEARES.'
July 21, 1793.

[Note addressed to the Society.]

Dublin, July 26, 1793.

'HAVING received no answer to the above letter, I deem it a duty I owe to myself, to the society to which I belong, and to the public in general, to lay the circumstances of this transaction before the nation.

'HENRY SHEARES.'

'*Resolved, that* HENRY SHEARES *be addressed by this* SOCIETY.

'UNITED IRISHMEN TO HENRY SHEARES.

'This Society, in its choice of a President, has been directed to you by its conviction of your patriotic and constitutional principles.

'If by this mark of our respect and confidence, you have been exposed to slander of the most singular and unwarrantable nature, you have derived this honourable distinction from the corrupt policy which has been uniformly employed to vilify the most virtuous assertors of their country's rights.

'Convinced that the calumny, alluded to in your letter to the Chancellor, is unfounded, and that the meanness which marks it, as well as its malignity, renders it impossible for us to suppose, that it could have proceeded from the authority to which it has been imputed; but was rather the fabrication of a venal print, which has long insulted the most honourable and independent characters of the community, we earnestly assure you, that we will cooperate with you in every mode of obtaining justice from the laws of your country.

'Amongst us, nothing is secret, nothing underhand. Our numbers, our independence, our individual characters, might stand as tests of our intentions. We have every motive of attachment to the interest and happiness of our country. The sacrifice you make to public duty, can only serve to endear you to us more than ever.'

To which HENRY SHEARES *gave the following answer.*

'UNITED IRISHMEN,

'YOUR affectionate address has made the deepest impression on my heart. I shall ever hope to deserve it. That congenial principle which first led and attached me to you, has received, if possible, additional energy by this testimony of your approbation. From the laws of my country I have no doubt of redress. In contempt and defiance of calumny and oppression, I will devote my life to the great cause for which we first united; confident, that by a firm adherence to the principles of our institution, we shall proportionally effect the welfare and happiness of our native country.

'HENRY SHEARES.'"

Here the matter ended, with a great deal of dissatisfaction, openly (and perhaps violently), expressed, on the part of both brothers:—the younger talked of challenging the chancellor, and the expression is attributed to him, perhaps unjustly, of "seeking him on the woolsack, if he were not to be found elsewhere!"

The next matter, that still further tended to exasperate the Lord Chancellor, against the Sheares,

occurred in 1793. The Honourable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond, were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, the former as chairman, the latter as secretary of a meeting of the society of United Irishmen, for signing a paper, calling in question the privileges of that house, with respect to the examination of witnesses on oath, in the recent case of Mr. James Napper Tandy; and both these gentlemen were declared guilty of a breach of privilege, and sentenced to six months' confinement, and a fine of £500, on the first of March 1793.

In the month of August following, a meeting was called, of the society of United Irishmen. Mr. John Sheares filled the chair, and an address to the imprisoned chairman and secretary of the former meeting, was carried, expressive of the sympathy of the society, and of its sense of the severity of the sentence passed on them.

The rigour of the sentence had been aggravated, by the virulence of the language, in which it had been pronounced by the chancellor. In addressing the Honourable Mr. Butler, on that occasion, Lord Fitzgibbon said, "he could not plead ignorance of his offence; that his noble birth and professional rank at the bar, *to both of which he was a disgrace,* had aggravated his crime." Mr. Butler, (who was the son of Lord Mountgarret,) a man of considerable talents and independence of character, no sooner was liberated, than he carried the resolution into effect, which he had openly avowed while in confinement: he appointed his friend John Sheares, to call on Lord Fitzgibbon for an apology, for the insulting

terms he had applied to him, and in the event of his refusal, to demand a meeting.

The friends of John Sheares, appear to have seen the impropriety of his acting as second, in this case, after having so recently been desirous of appearing as a principal, in a similar predicament; and his brother having been denied a meeting by the same individual. He went into the country, and Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan was substituted in his place, to demand satisfaction of Lord Fitzgibbon.

"When I waited on him," says Mr. Rowan, "I called to his recollection the words he had made use of, in passing the sentence of the House of Lords on my friends Messrs. Butler and Bond, and those which he had particularly directed to Mr. Butler, which I hoped to be permitted to say, it was not his lordship's intention should be taken personally, and had been made use of unreflectingly. His lordship said, that he thought the circumstances of the case called for the expressions he had used; that he 'never spoke unreflectingly in the situation he filled; and under similar circumstances, he would use similar words.' I then said, that 'in mine and Mr. Butler's opinion, the sentence of the Lords did not authorize the words he had used; and if it had occurred between two private gentlemen, my course would be plain and easy; but his lordship's situation of chancellor embarrassed me.' Here I paused. After some further conversation, his lordship said, 'I knew his situation, and he wished me to recollect it.' I then took my leave, saying, his lordship's situation

prevented me from acting as I would have done with a private gentleman." *

The next morning, Mr. Rowan received a visit from his friend Colonel Murray, who accosted him in these words: "So, a pretty piece of work you have made of it, Hamilton! taking a challenge to the chancellor!" The colonel, on being asked how he knew the circumstance, replied, "I have breakfasted this morning with Fitzgibbon, and he told me the whole affair."

There can be little doubt of Lord Fitzgibbon's knowledge of the appointment of John Sheares, in the first instance as the friend of Butler; and the circumstance of his being chairman of the meeting, at which his proceedings towards Messrs. Butler and Bond had been so roughly handled, was sufficient to incense a man of his arrogant and petulant temper, against the impugner of his conduct.

The address, on this occasion, presented by the society to their imprisoned chairman and secretary, bears the internal evidence, in its style and sentiments, of being the production of John Sheares. The reference in it, to one of the great actors in the revolution of France, whose opinions he had lately an opportunity of becoming acquainted with; the admiration of Mirabeau, in the allusion to him—probably inspired by the eloquence of that man, who had the power to command and to control all men's passions but his own; the employment in that document of those new-fangled terms, which were then the fashion of French political

* Vide Autobiography of Hamilton Rowan, p. 168.

phraseology; the novel application of the endearing names of "friends and brothers" to political associates; and the far-fetched salutations "in the unity of an honest and honourable cause," furnish presumptive evidence of the writer's acquaintance with the ordinary language of the leading members of the French clubs at that time.

There is, indeed, less of political bombast in this address, than was customary in the speeches and writings of the reformers of that day, when the newly imported jargon of visionary philanthropy, infected political discussion, in Great Britain and Ireland, with the clap-trap expressions of a conventional phraseology:—"fraternization" and "citizenship," "natural equality," and the "rights of man," were then in the mouths of all men who called Libertas Dea!

Patriotic affectation is said to be almost as bad as personal; and one might deem it worse than personal, if, in the fever of the public mind, in revolutionary times, one did not duly estimate the influence of political enthusiasm, and while he sickened at its excesses, did not compassionate the deluded votaries, whose confidence in human nature and ignorance of its infirmities, had left their hopes and expectations dependent on the conduct of the young, the ardent, the bold, and the inexperienced of their associates; and their own motives, in after times, at the mercy of a depreciating, exaggerating world.

In periods of great public excitement, the observation of Gobinet is peculiarly applicable to those whose youth and inexperience are exposed to the peril of political strife at the commencement of their

career:—"The time of issuing out of youth and entering into the world, is the most dangerous of all our life." The struggles of such times are, to them, like the warfare of the middle ages, when each man was regarded as a power; and, in the words of the eloquent author of Godefridus—"Chivalry required every man to believe, that he was personally called on to pronounce between error and truth—injustice and justice—vice and virtue." *

The time that the Sheares "issued out of youth, and entered into the world," was, indeed, perilous to every young man of a noble and an ardent spirit; for patriotism seemed to require what chivalry did of yore—That every man should make his election between wrong and right, as if the issue of the struggle depended on his individual exertions.

This sentiment, noble in itself, is yet productive of evil in its influence on the conduct of the young, whose views are more prospective than retrospective,† and whose feelings are more deeply engaged than their reason is calmly exercised, in the consideration of the events in the midst of which they have been thrown. The great mischief, then, to be feared is, that men will become "too much concerned with general views and grand abstractions; but not sufficiently practised in the small details of daily life.

* Vide Godefridus, or the Touchstone of Honour, by K. H. Digby, Esq. p. 97.

† See first address of United Irishmen's Society, Dec. 30th, 1791:—"In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors—much of our posterity."

"The greatest part of men have by far too high an opinion of their own importance, and over-great confidence in their own strength; but of their own vocation, and of the end to which they are destined, they have in general a sense far too low." *

* Vide Philosophie de Lebens, 156.

CHAPTER III.

The violence of Lord Clare in the House of Lords, was imitated, so far as invective went, in the years 1797 and 1798, in the columns of the "Press" newspaper, the organ of the United Irishmen. There are few newspapers of the present day which display more literary talent, than that ably-written, yet intemperately conducted paper, exhibited. The two Sheares are said to have written for it: John certainly did; but I have not been able to ascertain that Henry ever contributed to it.

The "Press" made its first appearance the 4th of October, 1797. The sixty-eighth number was seized the morning of its intended publication, and the paper was finally put down by the strong hand of military power, the 6th of March, 1798. It was published at No. 62, Abbey-street, which house was rented by the proprietor, Mr. Arthur O'Connor: the editorial part was conducted by the nominal printer—Mr. Peter Finnerty.

Finnerty was convicted (as printer) the 27th of December, 1797, of a seditious libel which appeared in that paper, signed "Marcus," contained in a letter

addressed to Lord Camden, on the subject of William Orr's execution, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and the punishment of the pillory. Stockdale, the reputed publisher, was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and punished for a breach of privilege committed in the publication of another letter deemed libellous, and sentenced to six months imprisonment and £500 fine, the 27th of February, 1798.

The writings in this paper distinguished for their ability, were those which bear the names of "Marcus," "Wm. Caxon," "Sarsfield," "Fortesque," "Scœvola," "A Militia Officer," and "Dion." Those under the signature of "Montanus," eleven in number, are written with great power, and bear evident marks of a mind deeply imbued with political and legal knowledge, and an intimate acquaintance with the character and condition of the people. The spirit which breathes in these letters, is that of a calm determination, an imperturbable disposition, a nature softened by philosophy, insensible to fear, and influenced by no sordid or selfish motive. The author of these letters, on the authority of one still living in America, who ought to have known the person he believes to have been the writer of them, better than any body else, was Thomas Addis Emmett. It may be observed, that a statement in the latter part of 1797, (though not in itself entitled to much respect as an authority,) appeared in the "Dublin Journal," in which the writer declared that he had seen one of the manuscript letters signed "Montanus," in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmett.

The letters bearing the signature of "Marcus," are remarkable for the impetuosity, energy, and boldness of their language. Traces are to be observed throughout those compositions, of a temperament whose ardour was under no control—of wild and luxuriant talents, subject to no restraint—of feelings, whose fervour in political matters was more indicative of a new-born zeal in a cause suddenly embraced, than of matured reflection on the political circumstances of the times, or the probable result and adequacy of the means proposed for effecting a removal of existing evils. The writer of these letters, on the authority of Arthur O'Connor, was a young man of the name of Swift, the violence of whose writings, on more than one occasion, had involved the proprietor and conductors of the "Press" in considerable trouble.

This gentleman, I presume, was the Mr. Deane Swift who was one of the state prisoners at Fort George, the son of the eccentric barrister, Theophilus Swift, who distinguished himself by his duel with the Duke of Richmond, and his imprisonment for a libel on the members of the board of Trinity College,* whom he accused of injustice respecting a fellowship, for which his son, Deane Swift, had been an unsuccessful candidate.

The letters signed "Fortesque" were evidently written by a lawyer; the subject of them is generally, the illegality of the proceedings which had superseded the trial by jury, the excesses committed by the military, or the tortures inflicted on the

* Vide Sampson's Memoirs, Introduction, p. xxiv.

people. Sampson states, in his Memoirs, that many of the accounts of these enormities published in the "Press," were written by him—but he does not state under what signature: that of Fortesque, however, may probably be regarded as having been suggested by the quality with which the name of Sampson is associated. He was certainly supposed to be "the manager of the Press," and was called so by Lord Moira, in one of his letters to him.

In reply to Lord Moira's assertion, he says: "The paper was set up when I was in the country, and was continued some time before I ever saw it." * * * "The use made of the 'Press' was to publish those facts, of which you were desirous also to be the publisher—the suppression and subsequent impunity of which (facts) you seemed to foresee, as well as I did, would lead to rebellion." *

The facts he alludes to, were the statements, verified on oath, of numerous atrocities—such as half-hanging, scourgings and picketings, which he had drawn up and presented to Lord Moira, and which his Lordship, on two occasions, laid many of the details of before Parliament, and which he undertook to prove at the bar of the house, if a committee of enquiry would be granted for this investigation. But such an enquiry was not compatible with the reputation of Lord Castlereagh, or the interests of the family which then constituted the "imperium in imperio" in Ireland.

Sampson, in the latter part of 1797, had formed "a Society for obtaining Authentic Information of

* Sampson's Memoirs; Introduction, p. 66.

Outrages committed on the People;" the object of which society, he says, was, "by the disclosure of these enormities, to restrain the perpetrators of them, and to render it impossible for the government, which had hitherto connived at these proceedings, to plead ignorance of them." "The members of it," he says, "were men undoubtedly the most distinguished in Ireland—such as Grattan, the Ponsonbys, Curran, Fletcher, the brave Montgomery," &c. "We had proceeded," he adds, "some time with effect, in despite of the reigning horror;—and never were more tragical stories wrested from oblivion." *

So long as there was an organ in Ireland for the publication of these statements, there was a sort of control over the violence of Orangeism; but when the "Press" was put down by military force, there were no bounds to the excesses.

The members of parliament, themselves, of the opposition party, were insulted by insinuations prejudicial to their loyalty,—nay, some of them were openly taunted, as persons who were aiders and abettors of traitors.

The 15th of May, Mr. Grattan announced the determination of himself and his friends, to the ministers, to secede from parliament:—"Having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duties, we shall trouble you no more; and after this day shall not attend the house of commons." † Much blame has been thrown on

* Sampson's Memoirs, p. 57.

† Grattan's Speeches, vol. iii. p. 342.

Messrs. Grattan, Ponsonby, and Curran, for abandoning their posts at this fearful crisis. But the fact is, they knew their own lives and liberty, and (what was dearer than either) their reputation, was in peril; and there was no security for any man of their party from the malevolence of the leader of that faction which then swayed the council, the viceroy, and even Castlereagh himself.

In a receent work, entitled "Lights and Shadows of Whigs and Tories," ascribed to the pen of the son of an incorruptible judge, it is plainly stated that the loyalty of a Hastings had been even called in question;—that an informer had been got to couple the name of Grattan with treason;—that the arrest of Curran had even been debated in the council;—nay, that a certain knight, of the name of Ormsby, renowned, in these times of terror, for his chivalrous exploits in the riding-house, had proceeded to the country-house of Mr. Ponsonby, with the avowed purpose of inflicting corporal punishment on that gentleman, and duly prepared for that operation; which punishment, in the fortunate absence of Mr. Ponsonby, was relinquished for a temporary military occupation of his house.

The suppression of the "Press" had been determined on, to prevent the intended publication of an attack on Lord Clare, particularly and personally offensive to his lordship, which was betrayed by some one in the office. The letter to Lord Clare was already in print, when the house where the paper was printed in Mountrath-street, and the office where it was published, in Abbey-street, was taken

possession of by a military force, under the direction of the high-sheriff. This letter, addressed to "the Author of Coercion," and signed DION, is to be found in a volume called "the Beauties of the Press," published in London in 1800.

Sampson, who lived within a few doors of the office, had been sent for by the wife of the printer, then in jail, when the seizure was made by the high-sheriff, assisted by a large military force.* He says:—"I learned afterwards, that the investment and occupation of Mr. Stockdale's house, was to prevent an intended publication from circulating in the 'Press' against Lord Clare."

Among the contributors to the "Press," there were men of the first eminence in literature, and one whose fame was yet unwon, and whose dawning talents, were then hardly known beyond the precincts of the college. His first production, in prose, he informs us, in his admirable life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, appeared in the columns of the "Press" before he had attained his seventeenth year. He does not say, under what signature he wrote for that paper; but some of the pieces, he states, which were inserted in the secret report of the committee of the House of Commons, and given to the public as specimens of the "alarming" writings of the "Press," were his. There are some lines on Mr. Pitt, signed "Tommy Truant," in one of the January numbers, of the year 1798, the author of which

* It has been stated in several publications, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald was present on this occasion; but Sampson positively states that he was not there.

probably contributed other pieces of poetry to that paper.

There is one piece displaying a great deal of talent, called, "The London Pride and Shamrock," in No. 11 of the "Press," signed "Trebor," which I believe to be the production of that most highly gifted and ill-fated of our countrymen—the unfortunate Robert Emmett. The letters of the signature reversed, will be found to be those which compose that of "Robert." Before I noticed this circumstance, I was struck with the simplicity, the sombre cast of thought, the ardent enthusiasm which is displayed in these verses.

Another contributor to the "Press," on the authority of Dr. M'Nevin, it may be stated, was Mr. William Preston, one of the most distinguished scholars of Trinity College, in his time, by the acknowledgment even of one not very favourable to his politics, Dr. Patrick Duigenan.*

Preston was a member of the well-known society established by Yelverton and Curran, "The Monks of St. Patrick."

He was the author of the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius, translated into English verse, of several poems and dramatic pieces, and a contributor to the production called "Pranceriana," a satirical piece, written against Dr. Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, in 1774. The Numbers 16, 24, 25, 22, 31 and 33, were written by Preston. Dr. Duigenan was one of the principal contributors. As one of the founders of the Royal Irish Academy and of

* Lacrimæ Academicæ.

the Dublin Library, the name of Preston is associated with those of Charlemont and others of the foremost men of his day. Preston was a man of great literary attainments, "his mind was stored with Roman and Grecian literature." For several years before his death, he filled the office of commissioner of appeals, and died in Dublin, in January 1807, in his 56th year.

The classical pen of that excellent writer, Dr. William Drennan, the friend of Dugald Stewart, was likewise employed in the "Press." He was in fact the penman of the United Irish Society. The first declaration of the society, its test, and many of the addresses and resolutions of the society, of which in the years 1792 and 1793, he was frequently the chairman, were written by him; as were also many of the songs and other poetical compositions, which appeared in the "Press," and subsequently in "The Harp of Erin." In the former he published, 14th January 1798, anonymously amongst other pieces, the well known ode, "To the memory of William Orr," begining with the words, "Oh! wake him not with women's cries," a piece written with great power; and which, probably, had more effect on the public mind, than any production of the day, in prose or verse. This piece alone, with his song, "When Erin first rose," and that admirable paraphrase of the classical story, called "The Jewels of Cornelia," published the 4th of January, 1798, in the "Press," are to be found in a small volume of his, entitled, "Fugitive Pieces, in verse and prose," published in Belfast, in 1815. In this volume, we find a poem

called "Glendalough," and a number of hymns, which in any other country, where English poetry was prized, would have gained a high reputation for the writer; but Ireland, as to literature, is still in the condition described by Spencer.

> "And in so fair a land as may be redd,
> Not one Parnassus, nor one Helicon
> Left for sweet Muses to be harbored."

Dr. Drennan was a member of a political and literary club, formed in 1790, by T. W. Tone: the other members were T. A. Emmett, Pollock, William Johnson, now judge, Whitley Stokes, Peter Burrowes, and Thomas Russell.

These spirit-stirring songs of Drennan, beautiful in their imagery, though certainly not calculated to allay the excitement of the public mind, at that period, circulated with the utmost rapidity over the country, and became the standard songs of every convivial society where United Irishmen, or those who were friendly to their views, assembled. One of these songs of Drennan, to which I have alluded, was very remarkable for its highly-poetical diction, it was called "Erin to her own tune," beginning with the words "When Erin first rose." Mr. Moore has even paid the compliment to the merit of its composition, of transferring one of its beautiful images to those exquisite lines of his, at the close of the fifth number of his Melodies:—

> "Dear harp of my country, in darkness I found thee,
> The cold chain of silence had hung o'er thee long."

In a note to that piece, whose numbers "most

musical, most melancholy," would alone be sufficient to make the name of Moore remembered in after times, the author says—in that rebellious, but beautiful song, "When Erin first rose," &c., there is, if I recollect right, the following line:

"The dark chain of silence was thrown o'er the deep."

In this song, Drennan first designated his country as the "Emerald Isle;" and I was lately assured by his widow, now residing in Belfast, that he prided himself not a little on the paternity of this title. This amiable lady, deservedly respected by all classes in Belfast, informs me that Dr. Drennan, at one period, had some idea of writing a history of the United Irish Society—but his other literary avocations prevented him carrying his purpose into effect. It is greatly to be regretted that he did not undertake this task, for no person could have done so with equal advantage. His admirable letters, bearing the signature—"Orellana, the Irish Helot," which appeared in 1784, and those of Joseph Pollock, signed "Owen Roe O'Neil," published about 1790, are the ablest compositions of all the political literature of those times.

Having removed from Dublin to Belfast, his native place,—in conjunction with Mr. John Templeton, the well-known botanist, and Mr. John Handcock of Lisburn, he established in 1808 the Belfast Magazine, which ceased to exist in 1814; the most ably-conducted periodical of its day, or, indeed, of any other day in Ireland. The papers called "Retrospective Politics" were written by Dr. Drennan. In 1794 he was tried upon an indictment, charging

him with writing and publishing a seditious libel, and was acquitted. One of the least known, and yet most able, efforts of Curran was made on this occasion in his defence. Dr. Drennan died in Belfast in 1820, in his 63rd year, leaving four children, the eldest son a barrister, the inheritor of much of his father's eminent abilities. The remains of Dr. Drennan are buried in the same church-yard where those of his friend Dr. Haliday repose. A small slab over his grave, bears the following inscription:—"Gulielmo Drennan, ob. 5 Feb. 1820, æt: 63 an."

Those who remember the time when Drennan's songs, and Counsellor Lysaght's lyrical productions, often poured forth on the spur of the passing events of the day, used to promote, if not the feast of reason, the flow of soul at their convivial meetings, speak of them still as reminiscences of enjoyment of bye-gone days, in which (pregnant with political strife as they were) the pleasures of social life were blended with literary tastes, and shared by persons of higher talents, of all parties, without distinction of creeds or politics, than are found to mingle in any social intercourse of the present day, in Ireland.

The period between 1791 and the close of 1797, was marked by the development of those qualities, which seldom fail to be discovered among those of the liberal professions, whose youth has been thrown on the troubled waters of an eventful period. Stirring times beget bold thinkers, active agents, and ardent votaries; they are calculated to call forth the noblest spirits, and to tolerate the existence among

them of the most restless and least stedfast in their principles; and even to conceal the defects of the latter, under the garb of a generous enthusiasm. Thus men of dissimilar natures are brought into political intercourse, and eventually into social communion. The re-union of such heterogeneous materials, cemented for a season by a common excitement, which disposes all parties to the enjoyment of society, favours convivial intercourse; and, it is only when the final conflict comes, that tries men's souls, that the great distinctive traits of their characters are fully exhibited. It would be difficult, without thus considering the circumstances of the time, to comprehend those terms of private intimacy which existed between persons of such incongruous public sentiments, as those members of the first Reform and United Irishmen Societies, the Historical Society, and various clubs and associations of a later date.

In one of these societies, formed at an earlier period, (1779,) "The Monks of St. Patrick," we find amongst the names of its members those of Curran and Lord Carhampton, Ogle and Avonmore, Temple Emmett, and Robert Day, (subsequently Judge Day,) Grattan and Lord Kingsborough, Lord Charlemont and the Earl of Mornington, the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, 'the Catholic priest,' and the Rev. Doctor Palliser, the 'Protestant divine.'

The circle of society, at a much later period, embraced the talent of all parties; men of the most dissimilar politics seemed to have adopted the non-contagion doctrine, with reference to their associates;

there was no pestilence in a man's creed to make the "fomes" of his faith formidable to his neighbour in society. That apprehension was reserved for later times. The loyalty of Lord Moira suffered no contamination from the fervour of Theobald Wolfe Tone's political sentiments in their intercourse at Moira House. The patriotism of Mr. Grattan came into contact at Tinnahinch, with not a few of the leading democratic people of his time, without detriment to his principles.

And, though last, not least, in the reminiscences of the convivial pleasures of those times, the re-unions at the house of Egan are recalled; where the aristocracy of talent, comprising no small portion of the wit and humour of the forum, forgetful of politics, mingled in the wit combat, at the supper table of the hospitable "Bully" of the bar.

Before taking leave of the subject of the political periodicals of this time, two other newspapers remain to be noticed: "The Northern Star," of Belfast, and the "Union Star," published in Dublin.

The "Northern Star" was set up in Belfast in the spring of 1792. I copy from the original indenture placed in my hands by the daughters of Samuel Neilson, entered into by the proprietors and bearing their signatures. By this agreement, they enter into a partnership for twenty-one years, to carry on the newspaper called the "Northern Star." The words deserve attention: "The said parties hereunto, shall be and continue partners in the said business, *and all other business and trade* a majority of them shall think fit to carry on, for and during the full end and

term of twenty-one years, to be computed from the first day of January last."

The words which I have marked are somewhat mysterious; what "other business," could a company of newspaper proprietors contemplate jointly carrying on? The stock-in-trade of the partnership is limited to £2,000, arising from forty shares of £50 each, thus distributed among the proprietors:—

Samuel Neilson, Woollen Draper .	13	shares.
William Magee, Printer and Bookseller	3	do.
William Tennant, Merchant . . .	3	do.
Gilbert M'Nevin, jun., Linen Draper	2	do.
William M'Cleering, Tanner . . .	2	do.
John Haslet, Woollen Draper . .	1	do.
John Rabb, Clerk	3	do.
William Simms, Merchant	2	do.
John Boyle, Merchant	3	do.
Robert Caldwell, Banker	3	do.
Henry Haslet, Merchant	3	do.
Robert Simms, Merchant	2	do.

The above named twelve proprietors, were men of respectability, some of them, the Simms and Tennants, Caldwell, and at that period Neilson, in affluent circumstances; and all of them presbyterians, either of the old light or unitarian branch of that form of religion.

Neilson, assisted by a committee, was entrusted with the editing of the paper, at a salary of £100 a-year. John Rabb was the printer and publisher.

None of the partners were allowed to sell out their shares in the paper, without the consent of the majority of the copartners. The above agreement was executed

in the presence of Matthew Hughes and John Tisdall, 3rd June, 1792.

The printer and proprietors were prosecuted by the crown in 1792,* and acquitted; again, in 1794, when Rabb was found guilty, and the proprietors acquitted; in 1796, the office was attacked and plundered, the printer and proprietors were seized, sent to Dublin, and imprisoned in Newgate for above a year and a half. In the early part of 1797, the office was again attacked, the printing materials destroyed, and the office pillaged by the military.

The principal contributors to the Northern Star, were Sampson, Russell, Porter, Kelburne, and Dickson, the three last-named, presbyterian ministers. During the period of Neilson's imprisonment in 1797, his place as editor of the paper, was filled at one time by Mr. Thomas Corbett, of Belfast, and subsequently by Dr. Porter, the author of the articles called "Billy Bluff and the Squire." These papers were of a satirical nature, illustrative of the scenes that took place between the old Earl of Londonderry, the Rev. John Cleland, and a neighbouring farmer, who filled the office of spy and informer to the noble lord and the rev. gentleman, in Belfast and its vicinity. The treason of these pasquinades against two of the above-named personages, was infinitely more perilous to the proprietors and acting editor of the "Northern Star," than any other species of seditious writing. In sporting with Billy Bluff, poor Dr. Porter forgot he

* Mr. Gordon erroneously states that this paper was established in 1797. It commenced the 4th January, 1792, and ceased the 30th January, 1797.

was playing with edge-tools—he became, in his turn, reported to Lord Londonderry as one of his suspected neighbours, was tried by a court-martial, and executed at Grey Abbey, on a plot of ground between his own house and the place of worship of which he was minister. The unfortunate gentleman's abode was in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Stewart House. Sampson seems to have been destined to have watched over the cradles and walked after the hearses of all the democratic journals of his time; in 1797, he was present at the office of the "Northern Star," when the destruction of its property was going forward.

The articles styled "The Hurdy Gurdy Trials," were written by Sampson; the pieces styled "The Lion of old England," were the production of Messrs. Porter and Russell. The above-named articles, and those subscribed "Yeoman," and "Monitor," were the ablest written in the "Northern Star." This paper appeared twice a-week, and its sale amounted to 4,200, at the time of its suppression. In 1795, several of the proprietors withdrew, and Neilson was then induced to give up his business and devote his entire attention to the paper, and in a short time, he was left sole proprietor of it. There is only one of the original proprietory now living,—Mr. Robert Simms, of Belfast.

At the time this paper was put down, the law had not given the summary power of seizing on the materials and property of an obnoxious press, and of incarcerating its proprietors; nevertheless, the "Northern Star" was thus put down, and its proprie-

tors suffered imprisonment for upwards of a year and a half, and were then set at large without having been brought to trial.

With respect to the literary ability displayed in the conduct of the "Northern Star," after a careful perusal of its columns, I cannot discover many indications of that superior talent, which was said to have been exhibited in it. From first to last, its columns were chiefly devoted to details relating to the French Revolution and the actors in it, copied, in most cases, verbatim from French papers; and so intent did its managers seem, on filling their columns with the proceedings of the National Assemby, and jacobin and other democratic clubs, that they seldom inserted leading articles of their own, or any original matter, except an occasional letter, or some very indifferent verses. The grand object seems to have been, to keep the example and events of the French Revolution, continually before the eyes of the people. It is surprising that its circulation was so extensive as it was, far exceeding that of any contemporary journal, with so little matter respecting home politics, calculated, it would seem, to excite the public mind.

This circumstance, I think, shews how deeply the republican mania of the day, had taken hold of attention in the north of Ireland.

Tone's correspondence, indeed, leaves no doubt whatever, that so early even as 1791, the extreme opinions entertained by himself and Russell, with respect to British connexion, were shared by Neilson and several of their common friends, who subsequently became the proprietors of this paper. In this respect,

they differed widely from the leaders of the United Irishmen society, in Dublin; and the fact of Tone, the founder of it, immediately after its formation, losing all influence in it, by his own admission, and never but once acting in any official capacity at its meetings, shews that the leaders of the popular movement in Dublin, were ready and willing, at any period previous to 1795, to stop at the Hounslow half-way house of parliamentary reform, while their northern neighbours were bent on going to the full journey's end of revolution.

The "Union Star" was set up in Dublin in the Summer of 1797, professedly the advocate of the principles and objects of the United Irishmen. Its advocacy, however, was repudiated by the directory of that society, and its atrocious sentiments disclaimed by all its leaders, and especially, as we are informed in "Sampson's Memoirs," by Thomas Addis Emmett. It will be necessary to say a few words respecting Mr. Cox, in reference to the character of this journal, which has brought a very serious imputation on the character of the society of United Irishmen in general, as being the abettors and accomplices of the atrocious crime of assassination.

The following information respecting Walter Cox, I received from his step-daughter, Miss Isabella Powell, still living in Dublin.

He was the son of a master-blacksmith in Westmeath, in decent circumstances: his mother belonged to a respectable family of the name of Dease, of Summer Hill in that county. His father held

some land, of which he lost possession at the period of Lord Carhampton's wholesale transportation of suspected persons. Cox was one of those arrested by his lordship, and was sent to jail: he was fortunate enough to get liberated after some weeks' imprisonment. He settled in Dublin, and died there in the neighbourhood of North Strand.

His son, Walter Cox, was bound apprentice to a gunsmith, of the name of Muley, of Suffolk-street, and, after remaining three years with him, he served the remainder of his time to another gunsmith, Mr. Benjamin Powell, of 159, Abbey-street, a gun-contractor with the ordnance-department.

On leaving Powell, he set up in business in a small shop in Bedford-row: he had previously married a woman of the methodist connexion, and, being a man of violent and ungovernable passions, he is said to have rendered the life of this poor creature miserable. She died in childbed; and, about the year 1797, he married the widow of his former master, and for some time carried on the business as gun-contractor with government. This marriage proved no less unhappy than the former: on one occasion, he was brought before the magistrates for ill-using his wife, at the instance of Mr. Lawrence Tighe, of 156, Thomas-street, who was an intimate friend of Mrs. Cox.

Cox got a good deal of property, both in money and in houses, by his marriage. He had no acquaintance with Lawrence Tighe, and no intercourse with Major Sirr, but Mrs. Cox was intimate with the former; he had been deeply engaged in the re-

bellion of 1798, but not in that of 1803; if he said that he had been in the latter, he must have stated what was not true.

He was separated from his wife upwards of twenty-five years previously to her death; he squandered her means—kept possession of her houses, and allowed her *occasionally* a small weekly pittance for her support, in a miserable lodging in Clarence-street, North Strand—while, in the same street, he continued to lead a disreputable life in the house which belonged to her, and in which he resided till the period of his death. The cause of his quarrel with his wife, was by some attributed to an opinion he entertained that his wife, shortly after Emmett's business, had given certain information to Mr. Tighe (who was said to be a Castle spy), respecting some papers of his, which had got him into trouble, and occasioned his house to be searched by Major Sirr. At the time the Union Star was printed, he had a small place of business of some kind in Little Ship-street. The person who attended him in his last illness, frequently heard him speak on the subject of the information given against him in violent and angry terms. This person likewise denies that Cox had any intimacy with Major Sirr, or had taken any part in Emmett's conspiracy. It is right to observe—his enemies state the former as a proof of treachery to his associates of the United Irishmen; and he was in the habit of talking in his usual loose manner, of having had the command of 1,500 Wexford men at the Broadstone, the night of Emmett's unsuccessful effort.

With whatever views this infamous paper was established, it is certain that it was repudiated by the leaders of the United Irishmen, and equally certain that Mr. Cox was the sole editor, proprietor, and publisher of it. Garbled extracts only having been given from this paper in the parliamentary reports, an entire number will be found in the Appendix.

The "Union Star" was printed on one side only, to allow of its being pasted on walls; the name of its printer and place of publication, were not given; its uniform theme was the necessity and justifiability of the removal of public delinquents. Obnoxious persons were pointed out for assassination, and their names regularly published in its columns. The ultra-violence of its revolutionary tendencies, was prominently displayed; but its tendency, if not its object, was certainly detrimental to the cause it professed to espouse.

Cox went on for some months with perfect impunity, advocating assassination, suggesting the existence of an assassination committee, which never had a being,—and all this time he contrived either to elude the vigilance of government, or to secure its favour. The fact, however, admits of no doubt, that his paper was connived at by the authorities, who were daily denounced in his journal.

The probability is, that when Cox established this paper, he was animated solely by infuriated feelings of resentment, for the treatment his father had received at the hands of Lord Carhampton,—which he mistook for patriotic motives: that, finding the chief confidence of the leaders of the United Irish-

men placed in other organs of their opinions, namely, those of the "Press" and the "Northern Star," he suffered himself to be tampered with by some of those official persons, with whom his former avocations, as gun-contractor with the government, had brought him in contact; and that he had become, at first, the confidant of designing men, and perhaps, eventually, was accounted their instrument. The fact of the interview I have alluded to—where he was found closeted with one of the agents of the government, at the very period his paper was denouncing and proscribing its members, coupled with the circumstance (which he himself admits), that while the "Press" and the "Northern Star" editors were prosecuted and imprisoned, and their establishments ravaged by the military,—the editor of the "Union Star," the advocate of assassination, was fortunate enough to make terms with the government, and to save his property from the slightest injury, is somewhat inexplicable. It is certain, however, that, some years subsequently to the putting down of the rebellion, Cox, on his first return from France, considered himself neglected by the government; and for the purpose of annoying it, in the month of November, 1807, he set up the "Irish Magazine." But, lest any injustice should be done to one no longer living, and one, with all his faults, the Cobbett, on a small scale, of his day in Ireland—his own explanation of his conduct in the management of the "Union Star," is given here, taken from an article of his in "the Irish Magazine" for October, 1810, addressed to one of his opponents.

"You accuse me of being an assassin, because I was the author of the 'Union Star.' Admitting the charge of proscription to have been fairly brought home to the character of that publication, where will the odium rest, if a fair comparison is made, of the 'Union Star,' and the horrid circumstances that provoked its existence? Perhaps, some will insist, that emptying our villages into prison ships, a practice very common in the year 1797, was not assassination; putting the people out of the protection of the law, or half hanging them, were not acts of assassination: to me they appear as such; and in the ardent and impatient character of a young mind, roused by a sense of exquisite feeling, at seeing, not only strangers agonizing under the most beastly cruelties, but my aged father, swept off with his neighbours, by the hand of Carhampton, into a dungeon, I arrayed myself with those generous sufferers, who were taught by the principles of the constitution to resist oppression, and among other acts of my industry, to stem the authorised desolation, I produced the 'Union Star.'

> 'One murder makes a villain, millions, a hero:
> Lords are privileged to kill, and numbers consecrate
> the crime.'

"It was intended only, to guard the Union against the intrusion of such men as Reynolds, or O'Brien.

"Laying aside the right of authorship, which I very early assumed, in preference to the vice and the anvil, to sooth the agonies of my country, and to

avenge the atrocious indignities heaped by a Luttrell, on my parent, I defy a man existing, in any rank of life, to fix any act of cowardice, meanness, or dishonesty, on Walter Cox, either as a politician, an author, or a tradesman. I had the honour of enjoying the confidence and intimacy, of the greatest and most virtuous men that ever adorned this ill-fated country: and after a lapse of thirteen years, I possess the esteem of such of them, as have escaped the whirlwind of civil desolation. I was tampered with, by the terrors of the triangle and the fascinations of the treasury; and I owe nothing, either to my friends or my enemies. I escaped being involved in the ruin, which overtook the other leaders of the rebellion, by surrendering myself, as the author of the 'Union Star,' with the express advice and direction of my friends; as the proclamation exposed me to a discovery, by the extraordinary reward offered for my detection; and I the more readily made terms, as there was not on record, a single instance of the 'Union Star' having brought the slightest injury on any individual.

"I not only enjoyed the confidence of A. O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, T. A. Emmett, and Dr. M'Nevin, for the character I ever preserved amongst honest men, but was a member of that body, whose ambassadors were accredited in the greatest empire upon earth. Like your friend Mr. Beresford, I represented the City of Dublin in the greatest council of the nation, where I was placed by fifty times as many electors, as all his influence could procure."

So much for Mr. Cox's explanation of his conduct; we now turn to the pages of the "Milesian Magazine," (the rival of Mr. Cox's publication,) the editor of which, the well known Dr. Brennan, had formerly been connected with Cox, in getting up the "Irish Magazine."

The usual consequences of men like Cox and Brennan falling out, occurred on this occasion; in the violence of their vituperation, they threw a gleam of light on passages of their former lives, which leads to the knowledge of some curious matters.

Both were men of strong natural talents; Brennan, might be said to be a man of genius, and his abilities were highly improved by education. Their writings were alternately impious and humorous, slanderous and public-spirited, venal and vindictive, virulent and yet bold and vigorous, and often wrathful, unjust and exaggerating.

Both persons were indeed devoid of principle. It would be difficult to say which of them, politically speaking, was least stedfast in his principles.

It is impossible, however, to read Cox's diatribes against the Majors Sirr, Swan, or Sandys, without feeling the sincerity of the writer's contempt and hatred for the worthless creatures whom the circumstances of the times raised from obscurity, and invested with the terrors of unlimited authority. He literally seems to revel in the obloquy he heaps upon their acts; and there is a savage spirit of vindictiveness, dashed with something devilish and debonnaire, in his sarcastic ridicule, that speaks the feelings of a person who had suffered from the system he de-

nounces; and who was not forgetful how he might turn his injuries to account, or scrupulous as to the means by which he was to be appeased, or the party by whose sacrifice he might be revenged.

In 1804 a pamphlet was published in Dublin, signed "Timothy Tell-truth," in vindication of Major Sirr, whom Mr. John Swift Emerson, *an honourable member of the attorneys' corps,* had accused of defrauding him of his due proportion of the blood-money, in the case of the apprehension of the unfortunate Thomas Russell, the friend of Tone, and the sharer in the desperate enterprise of Robert Emmett. It appears by a pamphlet published in 1804, in defence of Major Sirr, that he derived his information respecting the place of concealment from Emerson, and Emerson from a third party, who, to use his own words, "did not choose to appear in the business."

Russell was apprehended in the house of a gunsmith, of the name of Muley, in Parliament-street. Mr. Cox was of the same trade, and was employed, subsequently to the rebellion, in the ordnance department in the Castle, as an operative gunsmith. Brennan states, that the third party alluded to by Emerson was Walter Cox; and he also charges him with being the author of the pamphlet in question, and the person who acted as "setter" to Major Sirr, when he attempted the capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, on his removal from Moira House, in Dirty Lane, and failed of success, in consequence of the resistance made by Lord Edward's party.

It is remarkable that Mr. John Swift Emerson was

one of the Major's party on this occasion, as well as Major Ryan, and Mr. Justice Bell.

In Brennan's Magazine, for June 1812, in reference to an intimation in Cox's publication, that the betrayer of Lord Edward was Mr. Lawrence Tighe, of Thomas-street (who lived within two doors of Murphy's house, where Major Ryan on being wounded by Lord Edward, it is to be observed, had been immediately taken), the following statement is made :—

"Who betrayed Lord Edward, is, as yet, a matter of doubt: the party came upon him full set; but who was the 'setter dog?' is the question. In the desk of Lord Edward, on the table where he was, was found a paper containing a plan for taking the city of Dublin—a plan upon which Lord Edward was supposed about to act that very night.* This paper was in the hand-writing of Walter Cox, and he owned it at the castle, and pleaded having made his peace *two years before*,† on the 'Union Star' affairs, as a justification of following up murder with treason, and the Castle folks admitted his plea—and Watty was still let loose. If Lord Edward took a plan of operation so important, from any man, is it not to be supposed he expected and respected his co-operation? —and in that case, is it not almost morally certain he concealed nothing from him, particularly his residence? The commentary is easy. Does not

* This is not correct: the resolution taken by the Directory, in the beginning of May, was that the rising should take place on the 23rd.

† This cannot have been the case; the Union Star did not exist two years before.

Watty's impunity carry with it the conviction of Castle service. If Watty was false then, is it to be supposed he did not betray on so great an occasion? That he knew where he (Lord Edward) was, is proved; and his character proves he betrayed the credulous, imposed-upon Lord Edward. Russell knew him through Lord Edward; and that Watty and the Major were close friends at the time, is proved by Watty's own words, in his defence of the Major, where he says the Major told him (the author of the pamphlet signed 'Timothy Tell-truth') the whole story the morning after Russell's capture. But Watty then did not imagine that 'Timothy Tell-truth' would one day be proved to be no other than the notorious Watty Cox."

Now, in confirmation of that part of the statement, respecting the plan for the taking of Dublin, found in Lord Edward's possession, we find the following remarks on this paper, in the journal of Lady Sarah Napier, in Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, published many years subsequently to the appearance of Brennan's magazine :—

"The plan referred to, was not found at Lord Edward's place of concealment, but in his desk, in the charge of Lady Fitzgerald, immediately after the arrest at Bond's, on the 12th of March.

"Lady Sarah Napier, speaking of a visits he received from *Captain Armstrong,* says: 'From him I heard that the prisoners would come off well, that there was no committee, only some of them assembled about the 'Press:' that the report about a dreadful map in Lady Edward's care, was one of Dublin, with

notes written by *a clever gun-maker,* who had marked the weak parts, and who had sent it to Lord Edward. That, no sooner had this man heard of the noise it made, than he went to government and said it was his, which he had shewn to Lord Edward. They asked him for what purpose he had drawn it, 'For my own amusement,' said he." *

At a subsequent period, in a letter from the Duchess of Leinster to the Duke of York, her Grace, in reference to this plan of Dublin, says: "That paper was found on the 12th of March, and a few days after *an armourer,* who worked in the Ordnance-yard, in the Castle of Dublin, on hearing it talked of, went to the under secretary of state, and desired to see the plan, which when shewn to him, he acknowledged it to be his, and that he had sent it anonymously to Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and being asked his reason for so doing, said, because he understood Lord Edward was a good engineer and curious in those matters. The plan is not mentioned in the Report of the House of Commons, drawn up by Lord Castlereagh, who knew the circumstance." †

There are no comments in the work from which I have quoted these passages, on the extraordinary conduct of this "*clever gunsmith,*" this armourer said to be employed in the Castle, at the period he communicated his plan for attacking the capital, in which he had so industriously marked the weak points.

* Vide Moore's Life of Lord E. Fitzgerald. American edition, p. 23, vol. ii.

† Ibid, p. 197, vol. ii.

The fact seems to have escaped the notice of all those who have written on the affairs of 1798, that the clever gunsmith, the editor of the assassination journal, the "Union Star," and Mr. Walter Cox, the subsequent editor of the "Irish Magazine," were one and the same person. The impunity with which the "Union Star," was allowed to proceed in its atrocious career, and with which Mr. Cox was eventually permitted to acknowledge himself to government, its editor and proprietor; the singular step, of declaring himself to the under secretary of state, to be the framer of that treasonable paper he had given to Lord Edward; the fact of his being enabled, immediately after the rebellion, without any resources of his own, to leave the country and remain abroad for nearly a year on that occasion; these circumstances, coupled with the evident tendency of his journal—namely, to bring discredit on the cause he professed to advocate, render it a very difficult matter to understand the views and conduct of this man: one in fact, whose mental conformation was the exemplification of all kinds of contradictory qualities, which utterly confound enquiry, and make it well-nigh impossible to form any estimate of the character of so eccentric and singular a person.

It is very difficult to believe, that Cox was not in the service of the Castle, and yet there are unquestionable proofs that at the very time he was a frequenter of the public offices at the Castle, and was considered in its service by the authorities, he was even then so far faithful to those of

the United Irish leaders he was attached to, as to keep their secrets from the government, and to give timely and very serviceable notice to those persons, when steps against them were meditated by government.

On the authority of Arthur O'Connor, it was during the period of his imprisonment, in the latter part of the year 1797, the "Union Star" got into circulation. The first thing he did on being set at liberty, was to send for Cox, and to remonstrate with him on the madness of his proceedings. Cox protested that his only object was to frighten the people at the Castle, and the Orangemen, and as a proof of his success, that a large reward had been offered for the discovery of the printer and publisher of the "Union Star." O'Connor told him he was sure to be discovered, and that his best plan was to go to the Castle, propose to give up the author and proprietor of this prohibited paper, and on making terms, to declare himself to have been the individual.

Cox saw the advantage of following this advice. He acted on it, and to the utter astonishment of Mr. Cooke, announced himself as the editor and publisher of the "Union Star." He had the modesty even to claim the reward for his own discovery; however, he was content to have it stipulated that no proceedings should be taken against him, and he should be allowed to remain in Dublin unmolested.

The subordinate agents of government, now looked upon Cox as a rebel, who had made a clean breast of one kind of treason, and was prepared for the enter-

tainment of another. He was closely questioned about his intimacy with O'Connor, and given to understand, that evidence which would go to his conviction, would be very serviceable at that period.

He was examined by Mr. Cooke, with respect to his knowledge of O'Connor, and what sentiments he heard expressed by him. Cox replied, that he had never seen Mr. O'Connor, but on two occasions, about a pair of pistols which he had sold to that gentleman. He was asked if he knew anything of his political opinions; Cox answered, he only knew them on the subject of pistols, which he said, (much to his surprise,) he preferred of English manufacture to that of his own country. Cox was considered unfit for the task intended for him, he discovered that similar enquiries were made of other persons, and he feared the result would be fatal to O'Connor. He visited O'Connor that night, and the information he gave him, was such as to induce him to lose no time in making an application to the law officers of the crown, to be permitted to go over to London for a few days, on some legal business. At this time O'Connor was under heavy recognizances to take his trial, for a seditious publication, whenever he should be called upon.

Having obtained permission, he immediately started for England. That he was attended at a respectful distance, by some familiar of the Castle, and dogged wherever he went, from the day he quitted Dublin till his arrest at Margate, there can be little doubt. It is due to the memory of Cox, which certainly stands in need of all the justice and

charity that can be done to it, to say that Arthur O'Connor, is convinced of the fidelity of this man to his associates.

We are informed, by Sampson, of Emmett having taken some steps to restrain the violence of his writings; but neither he nor Sampson appear to have had any idea that Cox had acknowledged himself to government to be the publisher of the "Union Star," and to have made terms for his security. Sampson says, speaking of this paper, "I believe the author never was discovered; some thought it was a stratagem of the government, to throw odium on the opposite cause. To me the arguments seemed too strong, and too terribly applicable, to warrant that supposition. I had, upon the subject of these papers, several conversations with Mr. Emmett, who was very zealous in his efforts to restrain them; and, I believe, successful. And what is more, there was found amongst his papers, at his arrest, one drawn up by him and me, and intended to have been subscribed by all whose names could be supposed most influential amongst the people; which the government, with its usual candour, took care entirely to suppress."

And in a note appended to the above remarks, written long subsequently to the letters, which form the greater portion of his Memoirs, he adds :—

"It has been lately discovered, by the disclosure of the civil list, that he was pensioned to the amount of £100 a-year; and moreover, it is said, that he received a consideration sum on going to the United States." *

* Sampson's Memoirs, p. 71.

The pension alluded to, was conferred on him during the Duke of Richmond's administration, when all other means of silencing his magazine had been found ineffectual—including those of the pillory, and three and a half years' confinement in Newgate.

The "Union Star" was printed in a cellar in Little Ship-street. The whole business of composing and printing was there performed by Cox himself, according to his own account, without any assistance, within a few steps of the Castle. Whether Cox, subsequently to his delivering himself up, was considered as entitled to pecuniary assistance, it is hard to say; he was certainly employed in some way in the ordnance department, at the Castle. There is a person of his name whose services were occasionally recompensed between 1803 and 1804:—

"April 7, 1803, Major Sirr for Mr. Cox	£11	7	6
Dec. 25, 1803, Mr. Flint, per Mr. Wickham's note—Cox	68	5	6
Feb. 16, 1804, Mr. Griffith for Serjeant Cox's wife	11	7	6
Jan. 26, 1804, Chaise from Naas, with Fleming, Cox, Keogh, Finnerty, and Condon	3	1	9"

From one of the persons who had long been most intimately acquainted with him, and who attended him in his last moments, I received a number of documents, which throw some light on his strange career. About 1804, he went to America, took with him nearly £500, and returned to England in about eleven months, without a sous.

In 1807, he established his "Irish Magazine," a very singular medley of truth and falsehood, blended at random, and tinctured not slightly with the spirit of the "Union Star." It is a performance, however, in which one who is sufficiently acquainted with the subject to discriminate between the reality of his representations of the horrors of 1798, and his exaggerations of them, will find records in detail of the O'Briens, Sirrs, Sandys, Swans, Hepenstals, and others of their class, such as he will only observe glanced at elsewhere, or touched upon with an obvious and natural repugnance.

The pertinacity with which this man stuck to his subject, and bore the brunt of the legal warfare which he had to encounter in the various prosecutions carried on against him, is without a parallel, I believe, even in the quixotism of English democratic writers. No sooner was he convicted of one libel on the government, and sentenced to a lengthened term of imprisonment and the punishment of the pillory, than we find him brought up from Newgate, tried over again for a new libel, sentenced to twelve months additional imprisonment, fined £300, and called on to give securities, himself in £1000 and two new sureties in £500 each. And all this time his magazine pursued the rough and most *un*even tenor of its way, through good report and bad report—battling with "the majors," "the gun beggars," the cabin burners, the Riding-house heroes, &c. as if nothing had happened to Mr. Cox. The article which drew down on him the heaviest weight of legal vengeance, was one called "The Painter Cut," written by a Mr. T. F. of Carlow.

The consequences of this prosecution eventually brought ruin on Cox; but nevertheless, he did not give up the name of the imprudent writer of this paper. He still went on conducting his magazine in prison, and seeing no probability of ever leaving it. Under the plea of recovering a sum of eighteen shillings, due to the stamp-office by Cox, a considerable quantity of the magazine ready for publication was levied on, and carried away; the persons who sold his magazines in the streets were brought before the mayor, and menaced with punishment; his shopmen were threatened, on various occasions, with legal steps, and personal chastisement; in short, the whole legal and executive power of the country was brought to bear on the devoted head of the scribbling gunsmith, and without effect. He found it necessary to procure a shopman of some celebrity in the fighting way, and accordingly he obtained the services of Mr. Bryan Maguire—a later and more improved edition of George Robert Fitzgerald—and this gentleman's organ of combativeness being universally known to be very largely developed, Mr. Walter Cox's representative was troubled with no applications for explanation or retraction. At length, an influential gentleman was sent on an amicable mission from the Castle to the cell of the intractable printer in Newgate. Cox was asked if it was his desire to die in jail, or to live at large with a comfortable independence? and if he preferred the latter, he was called on to name the sum on which he could contrive to live, and to relinquish the troublesome task of editing periodicals. This tempting proposal

was too much for flesh and blood—macerated and calmed down a little, by upwards of three years of life in Newgate—to withstand; poor Cox, to the utter astonishment of the mediator on this occasion, said he thought £100 or £150 a-year would not be too much for him to ask. The arrangement was immediately concluded; had Cox asked three times the amount, it would have been readily granted to him. In 1816, having placed in the hands of the authorities all the unsold copies of his work, which amounted to 600, he was enabled by government to quit the country, and proceeded to America. In 1817 he established a newspaper at New York, which he called the Exile, of the same nature as the magazine, but more violent in its tone. It commenced the beginning of January, 1817, and died in the spring of 1818. This man's career in America very much resembled that of Cobbett—he began by praising the country—he ended by reviling it, its climate, and its people, in the strongest terms. The pamphlet in which he attacked America, and every thing that was American, was published by him in New York, in 1820, under the title of "The Snuff Box;" in point of ability it excelled anything he had written; but with respect to the ferocity of his abuse, it was an out-*Coxing* even of Cox himself.

By a passport of his in my possession, I find he arrived in Bourdeaux from America, in 1821. There he received an intimation from his friends in Ireland, that the discontinuance of his annuity had been a subject of discussion at the Castle. He addressed a characteristic letter, on this occasion, to

a person connected with the government, in which he declared his intention, and prefaced it with an oath, that "if they stopped his pension he would invade Ireland." The threatened invasion amounted to a menace of his coming back; and, in the month of November, his passport was put in order for his return to England, by way of Hull. How long it was before "he invaded Ireland" I know not; but he had been quietly domiciled in Dublin for several years, when he received a notification from the Castle, in Dec. 1835, that his annuity would be discontinued from that time. Among his papers, I find the following draft of a memorial he addressed to his Excellency the earl of Mulgrave, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

"To His Excellency Earl Mulgrave,
Lord Lieutenant, General, and general Governor of Ireland:

"The Petition of Walter Cox.

"May it please your Excellency, your Petitioner, in his early days, was reared a gunsmith, and, for many years, was a contractor with the Irish Board of Ordnance, for supplying His Majesty's army in Ireland with muskets and other small fire-arms; but, at the period of the Legislative Union, the Ordnance Board being abolished, the making of arms was removed to England—by which alteration, Petitioner was deprived of subsistence from the trade he was bred to, and reduced to great necessity and destitution. He was compelled to adopt several expedients to obtain a livelihood, without any suc-

cess: at length, he commenced a periodical publication (the Irish Monthly Magazine), a work which was continued more than eight years, with an extensive circulation; but, by incautiously giving insertion to a very reprehensible article, was brought to trial by the attorney-general — was convicted, pilloried, fined, and imprisoned during three years and four months.

"However, the Irish government, at the head of which was the Right Hon. Mr. Peel, in its mercy to an individual overwhelmed in ruin and poverty, granted him an allowance of a hundred pounds a-year during life, on the express condition, that he would give up the publication for ever. The offer of mercy was gratefully accepted; he closed his shop for ever, and, as the agreement further required, surrendered at the Castle of Dublin near six hundred volumes of his Magazine, which, at the present day, would bring him four hundred pounds.

"Mr. Peel mentioned this fact, of the extinction of the publication, at the time in the House of Commons.

"Petitioner has been now more than nineteen years living in harmless obscurity on this allowance, which the good faith of government, as he believed, intended should continue to his death—but now learns that it is your Excellency's gracious pleasure to order it to be discontinued, and to end with the year 1835.

"The situation of Petitioner is in a most perilous state, as the quarterly payment has been anticipated

by contracting many small debts, including rent to be paid, leaving nothing on hand; and, only that your Excellency's mercy has ordered him one hundred pounds, he must go to prison.

"This short story of woe is substantially true: and is humbly submitted to your Excellency's consideration, hoping your Excellency will continue the allowance, or appoint Petitioner to some trifling employment. He has learned to live on a little; and, whatever may be your Excellency's gracious will, he will accept of it with gratitude and resignation.

"And Petitioner will ever pray:

"*Dec.* 26, 1835." "WALTER COX."

When he received the notice of the discontinuance of his annual allowance, the sum of £100 was granted to him, to enable him to meet his existing exigencies. He survived this event little better than a year. He died at No. 12, Clarence-street, in very poor circumstances, the 17th Jan. 1837, in his 67th year. He had a small house at Finglass, and three or four acres of land, which he bequeathed to a Mr. Crosbie.

The house in which he lived, and its effects, he willed to his housekeeper. This person says, that on the day of his death, "there was not so much money in the house as would buy candles to wake him." He was attended in his last moments by the Rev. Mr. Kelly, of Lucan.

One circumstance which shews the strange, mischievous, and daring disposition of this man, is worth mentioning. On his second return to Ire-

land, he informed a gentleman whom he had long known, that it had occurred to him some short time previously, that "he would annoy the Major and his people," by cutting the head off King William's statue. That from his trade as a gunsmith, he had greater facilities than another man in effecting his object: he concluded the statue was made of bronze. He had gone there by night, accompanied by a young man in his employment: he kept watch, and his élève ascended the statue. After more than sufficient time to accomplish his purpose, he asked the young man, who was hard at work filing away at the neck, what progress he had been making. The reply was, little or none. In fact, the figure proved to be of lead, and the attempt had failed. Many years afterwards, when another attempt had been made on it, in 1836, by some other person, and the statue was thrown down—on examining it, it was found that the back part of the neck bore the deep marks of the files which had been used on this occasion.

The turbulence and restlessness of this man's mind never suffered him to be quiet, or to persist in any pursuit. While he was in America, he had tried all sorts of trades and callings: he had been a newspaper editor, a pawnbroker, a chandler, a dairy-keeper, and a dealer in Irish whiskey—and in all unsuccessful.

Had he received a liberal education, and been early taught to feel the restraints of religion, in all probability he would have been a vigorous, fearless, and faithful advocate of justice—an useful and influential member of society—a person of strong intel-

lectual powers, and one who might have loved his country with the tempered ardour of a christian patriot. Trained as he was, and uncompensated by religious impressions for the want of mental culture, few men of his time, and of his rank and station, rendered themselves more feared and less loved than Walter Cox.

He seems to have been aware of the defects in his character, which arose from the kind of education he had received. In a burlesque statement of his qualification for the office of librarian to the Dublin Library, for which he was a candidate in 1826—having been received with hisses, he issued an address to the members, in which he reminded them that particular reptiles, and red-hot horse-shoes, could hiss as well as human beings; and then, by way of explaining the causes which deprived him of those advantages which other candidates might possess, he subjoined a testimonial (evidently of his own manufacture), as having been obtained from one of the hedge-schoolmasters, who were accustomed to teach the young Popish ideas how to shoot in his early days:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"When I was a boy, it was the custom of the artificial darkness of the period, to study in thick bushes; but having a high conceit, a cabin kind of elevation of mind, I was taught in a large elm tree, near Longwood, county of Meath. It may be called the Tree of Knowledge; and I may now say with safety, as a compliment to our own happy times, it sometimes was not the Tree of Life;

as we were not unfrequently disturbed in our Reading-Made-Easy, by the growl of the bull-dog, and the menace of the priest-hunter. This short prefatory apology will go to explain the purport of the annexed Certificate—an exact translation from the original Irish,—written in a fair hand by our Provost, Bryan Mac Garry, Philomath.

"'This bit of parchment, written by me and nobody else, certifies that the bearer, Walter Cox, is a fine *sommaghan*, and a rattling hand at writing, a ready mouth in reading and spelling, and argufying in all matters of contraband learning; that he sat with great respect to himself for two years and two hours within Ballyfadden big tree, and rose *betwuxt* terror and talents, to the very highest branches under heaven, of which all the world is bound to take notice.

"'Given under my hand this 17th day of March, and God bless all that hear it, the 91st year since the invention of Potatoes.

"'Bryan Mac Garry.'"

Having referred to Dr. Brennan's accusations against Cox, with regard to Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Thomas Russell, it would be an act of injustice to the man's memory, whose fidelity to his associates he impugns, to conceal the circumstances which render his own statements somewhat doubtful. Brennan had been an early contributor to Cox's Magazine: he quarrelled with him, and set up a rival periodical. Brennan, like his competitor, was nominally a Roman catholic: he struck out a new line in satire and censoriousness—a warfare of ridi-

cule on the Roman catholic leaders of his day, and of ludicrous scurrility against the members of his own profession. It was the interest, if not the object, of Brennan, to bring Cox into disrepute, and to establish his claims on the gratitude of the administration, without incurring the suspicions of his own party.

It would be a folly, indeed, to refer to such matters, if circumstances of far higher public interest were not connected with them. Literature in other countries, derives rewards and honours from government; in Ireland, a scurrilous lampoon has been found sufficient to procure a pension from government. Some doggrel verses, smartly written, turning the most prominent of the catholic leaders into ridicule, beginning with the words, "Barney, Barney, buck or doe," recommended him, it seems, to the especial favour of the Duke of Richmond's government. This poor man, of whom it is not only charitable but true, to say his wits were partially disordered, on his death-bed, in his wanderings, often repeated incoherent rhymes, (for the ruling passion strong in death, prevailed with him,) and one couplet, not unfrequently was repeated, which there is good reason to believe denoted a foregone conclusion:

> "Barney, Barney, buck or doe,
> Has kept me out of Channel Row."

Many pensions no better earned, have kept men of little worth out of Channel Row poor-house.

Brennan died, in July 1830, in Britain Street, Dublin, aged about sixty-two years. He left two children, a son and a daughter, the latter respecta-

bly married in Kilkenny. He was born at Ballahide, Carlow, his father was a gentlemen of ancient family and once of considerable fortune. After his father's death, he went to law with his family, and brought ruin on the property. His son, however, contrived to get from the wreck of it, between five and six thousand pounds, which he carried with him to England, and having squandered away whatever he possessed, he died there a few years ago. Dr. Brennan was a man of very considerable talents, which were most sadly misused by him; he devoted his fine talents to sarcasm and scurrility; the little use he made of them in his profession, was still sufficient to make his name known to medical men, not only in England but over the continent, as the person who first brought into practice the use of turpentine in puerperal disorders.

Besides the "Press," the other newspapers published in Dublin were, the "Dublin Journal," the "Freeman's Journal," "Saunders's Newsletter," the "Dublin Evening Post" and the "Hibernian Journal."

The "Dublin Journal" and "Freeman's Journal," were the organs of the government and the faction that swayed its councils. "Saunders's Newsletter" professed neutrality in politics, and was chiefly devoted to commercial communications. The two others were moderate supporters of liberal principles. The amount of literary talent employed in all, was extremely small; but in this respect, with the exception of the "Press," the "Dublin Evening Post" excelled all its cotemporaries, and in the fidelity and accuracy of its reports of the debates in parliament, it had no equal.

Of the "Dublin Journal," which claimed to be the government newspaper of that day, a few words may not be found unnecessary.

This paper was originally established by Mr. George Faulkner, one of the aldermen of the City of Dublin, and was ably conducted by him, for upwards of fifty years. His house was the rendezvous of the leading parliamentary, literary and political men of his day. He associated with persons of the highest rank, and was in the habit of entertaining them, it is said, in a style of splendour. Faulkner died in 1775. From the period of his death, this paper gradually declined in spirit and integrity, till its doom was fixed, when its fanatical career commenced, on its coming into the hands of one of the most illiterate and illiberal men who ever became ambitious of conducting a public journal. This person, Mr. John Giffard, better known by the complimentary sobriquet of the "dog in office," was brought up in the Blue Coat Hospital. He was taken by the hand by a person of the name of Thwaites, a brewer, and was brought up to the business of an apothecary. He married a young woman in humble life, in the county of Wexford, and set up as an apothecary, in the town of Wexford, but got maltreated in a brawl with a man of the name of Miller, in that town, and removed to Dublin, where he set up in the business of an apothecary, in Fishamble Street, in 1771.

In that year, a Mr. John Giffard, a cooper, of Price's Lane, Fleet Street, died in Dublin, but whether a relation or not of the former I cannot say; and the following year his name is found in the

list of common councilmen; as his prospects brightened, he changed his residence to College-street, then to Grafton-street, and finally to Suffolk-street, in 1790. He distinguished himself early for the violence of his democratic principles, became a member of the volunteer association, and declaimed, in unmeasured terms, against parliamentary corruption, tyranny, and English influence.

Patriotism, however, and the glory acquired in the volunteer service, brought no money into the pocket of Mr. John Giffard; and in a little time, to the amazement of his friends, he suddenly changed his politics, reviled his former associates, and was duly encouraged and advanced by his new confederates. The first notoriety he acquired, was in the discharge of the humble duties of director of the city watch. In this office he had given some offence to the collegians, and this powerful and lawless body, decreed the honours of a public pumping to Mr. John Giffard. As they were in the habit of beating the watch with impunity, and even breaking open houses for the purpose of seizing persons who had offended them, they proceeded to Giffard's house in a tumultuous manner, and commenced the demolition of his doors and windows. Giffard manfully defended his house, repulsed the assaliants, and shot one of the young rioters in the wrist.

From this time, though Giffard did not throw physic to the dogs, the fortunate dog was himself thrown into office. He filled no particular post or definable situation, but was a man of all work of a

dirty kind at the Castle, and a hanger-on of Clare and the Beresfords.

In the spring of 1790, Giffard's privileged insolence had already reached the acme of its audacity. He attacked Mr. Curran in the streets at noon-day, for alluding, in his place in parliament, to the large sums of money squandered on the surbordinate agents and partizans of administration.

The circumstances of this insult are detailed in a letter of Mr. Curran to the Right Honourable Major Hobart, the secretary, demanding the dismissal of this menial of the government from his post in the revenue.

"A man of the name of Giffard," he states, "a conductor of your press, a writer for your government, your notorious agent in the city, your note-taker in the House of Commons, in consequence of some observation that fell from me in that house, on your prodigality, in rewarding such a man with the public money, for such services, had the audacity to come within a few paces of me in the most frequented part of the city, and shake his cane at me in a manner that, notwithstanding his silence, was not to be misunderstood."

Curran, despising the menial, held the master responsible for the insolence of the servant, and a duel between him and Major Hobart was the consequence.

Just previously to the trial of Hamilton Rowan in 1794, for a seditious libel, it was found necessary to have a jury which could be relied on for a conviction,

and a sheriff that could be trusted in such an emergency. Mr. Giffard was made sheriff some months previously to the trial, "a jury of the right sort" was impannelled, and Hamilton Rowan was sent to Newgate.

Mr. Giffard was at this time, by Lord Clare's patronage and protection, on the high road to preferment under government, and its countenance had already enabled him to become the chief proprietor of the "Dublin Journal." From the time it came into his hands, its violence, virulence, vulgarity, and mendacity, were of so extreme a character, that in the present day, its advocacy would be held detrimental and disgraceful to any party. Yet its editor was patronized, and preferred to places of honour and emolument by the administration, and especially favoured with the countenance and confidence of Lord Clare. Indeed, none but the most worthless and unscrupulous men, were selected for his favour, or fitted to be his agents.

The next signal instance of this man's effrontery, was on the occasion of Mr. Grattan's appearance at the hustings, in 1803, to vote for the then liberal candidate, Sir Jonah Barrington. Mr. Giffard objected to Mr. Grattan's vote, on the alleged ground of his name having been expunged from the corporation list, in consequence of the report of the secret committee of the House of Commons, especially got up and revised by Lord Clare, containing the evidence of a man of the name of Hughes (a notorious informer), involving Mr. Grattan in the designs of the United Irishmen. Grattan, on this

occasion, poured forth a volume of invective on the astonished Mr. Giffard; such, perhaps, as never fell on the devoted head of so humble a minion of administration. This memorable burst of disdain and indignation, was addressed to his victim in these words:—"Mr. Sheriff, when I observe the quarter from whence the objection comes, I am not surprised at its being made. It proceeds from the hired traducer of his country, the excommunicated of his fellow-citizens, the regal rebel, the unpunished ruffian, the bigotted agitator. In the city, a firebrand; in the court, a liar; in the streets, a bully; in the field, a coward. And so obnoxious is he to the very party he wishes to espouse, that he is only supportable by doing those dirty acts, the less vile refuse to execute."

Giffard's reply, as recorded by Sir Jonah Barrington, "I would spit upon him in a desert," is indicative enough of the mind and manners of the discomfited zealot.

CHAPTER IV.

The following particulars respecting the Sheares were communicated to me in writing, in 1836, by Mr. Davock, a silk merchant, formerly of Bridge-street, the intimate friend, neighbour, and political associate of Oliver Bond.

"John Sheares," he says, "was intimately acquainted with Bond, Emmett, the Honourable Simon Butler, and Henry Jackson.

"He was a man of excellent private character, of good talents and great personal courage. He was always considered a man of high honour; but his principles most certainly were republican: and I think his objects went much further than reform. He joined the second society of United Irishmen about 1796, and became a very active member of it. As a barrister he had pretty good practice. I heard that he wrote much for the "Press," but do not know under what signature. The introduction at Byrne's in Grafton-street, to Armstrong, was a trap laid to ensnare him. Byrne, the bookseller, (at whose house he first met Armstrong,) subsequently went to America: I do not think he was false to the Sheares—

the man who was set on them imposed on Byrne and performed his task completely.

"Henry was a man of very gentlemanly address; his talents were thought good; he was looked upon as a man of honour and discretion. At the meeting at Bond's, on the 12th of March, he, like many others of the leaders, did not attend; but no suspicion ever attached to his absence."

The gentleman from whom I obtained these few particulars, informed me, that he was one of the persons who conducted Lord Edward Fitzgerald to Murphy's, in Thomas-street, on one of the occasions of his being concealed there. Mr. Davock died in the year 1837.

John Sheares took no active part in the business of the United Irish Society, till after the arrests had taken place at Bond's; and the vacancy in the directory was filled up by his appointment to that perilous office. The part which had been first assigned to him, was the direction of the Cork organization. A directory was nominated for that county, but the apprehension of the Sheares paralyzed its first movements; and no outbreak was attempted in the south.

The chief part of the papers of the Sheares fell into the hands of Mr. Charles Coughlan, of Cork, the person whom John Sheares speaks of in his last letter to his sister Julia, as "the worthy Charles Coughlan." He was a man in humble circumstances, but highly respected, not only in his early, but in his latter days. In 1836, he was still living in his native city, greatly esteemed by all who knew him. In reply to an application of mine, for the papers in

question, and to certain queries respecting his unfortunate friend, whose fate he never ceased to deplore, I received the following communication through a mutual friend, enclosing several documents relative to the father's early history, the particulars of which I have given at the commencement of this memoir. "During the reign of terror, when every man's home was at the mercy of the privileged marauders," the documents in question, chiefly letters and papers of John's, were concealed in the ceiling of the old house Mr. C. then inhabited, where he expected they would escape detection; and they were not discovered. But when the storm had passed over, some years after the insurrection of 1803, being about to rebuild his house, he sought the concealed papers; but to his great concern, he found that they had been attacked by mice, and reduced almost to powder.

The substance of the information afforded by Mr. Coughlan, I have embodied in the preceding papers, but the following particulars, as coming from one so entirely in the confidence of the brothers, and from his own excellent qualities so well calculated to form a just opinion of their characters, I have thought it desirable to state apart from any observations of my own.

"Henry Sheares was led into the Union by his brother John. The latter had been previously a member of the society. They had been to France in the time of the taking of the Bastile; and early in the revolutionary struggle, John had become a member of one of the political clubs in Paris.

"Shortly after their return, John became an United Irishman: both he and his brother were thought highly of by the leading members of the society. John was desirous, in 1797, of going to France on a mission in an official capacity, but was thought to be too young for that appointment. From his youth he was strongly attached to republican principles, and earnestly and uniformly opposed to Agrarian doctrines.

"There was nothing sanguinary in his disposition: Henry was remarkably humane; and neither were capable of acting on the proclamation referred to. Henry was the best possible domestic character."

Such were the men whose unfortunate lot it was to attempt to carry into execution the long meditated designs of the Society of United Irishmen, at a period when all the leading members of that society were in the power of government; when their plans were known, their intentions frustrated, and the people discouraged and dismayed by the sufferings they endured at the hands of an infuriated soldiery, and a magistracy of privileged partizans, whose will was law.

Such were the calamitous circumstances of the times, when party violence seemed as if it sought to

> "—— Let one spirit of the first-born Cain
> Reign in all bosoms, that each heart being set
> On bloody actions, the rude scene may end,
> And darkness be the burier of the dead."

When terror prevailed over the whole country, and hardly one reasonable hope was left for the success of the revolutionary designs of the conspirators,

the Sheares were called forth, and the younger brother and another associate were appointed to supply the place of the foremost leaders of that conspiracy.

The state of mind in which the Sheares undertook the management of the desperate affairs of their society, may be gathered from the letter addressed only a month previously to the arrests at Bond's, to Lord Clare, and intended for publication in the "Press" newspaper. This letter, bearing the signature of "Dion," was written, as I have already stated, by John Sheares. It must have been indiscreetly talked of, previously to its being printed; for we are told by Sampson, who was fully acquainted with all matters connected with this periodical, that the seizure of the "Press," and the suppression of it, was determined on, to prevent the intended publication of a letter addressed to Lord Clare, designated therein, "the Author of Coercion." The "Press" was accordingly seized, and the obnoxious letter, was found in print, in the sixty-eighth and last number of that journal, already prepared for publication. The following is a copy of the letter;—

"To the Author of Coercion.

Qui capit ille facit.

"My Lord,

"In the present season of public investigation, when most of the political characters of the nation are made the subject either of censure or panegyric, you have been doubtless astonished at the silence pre-

served as to the merits of your lordship. Yet think not your country has been unmindful of your services; they were of too important a nature to escape observation and of consequence, too notorious to be easily forgotten. Believe me, I have kept a vigilant eye on your proceedings; and, at length, awakened into action, mean now to repay your lordship the long arrear of public acknowledgement which is your due. Yet think not my intention is to address you with any view of wounding your private feelings; my motives at present, are to save Ireland, not to avenge her, and it ill becomes the champion of a nation's wrongs, to stoop to the littleness of personal animosity.

"The system of torture and coercion, which has for some time past disgraced the country, is, I believe, very generally attributed to the prolific genius of your lordship; and certainly has on all occasions received your countenance and support. The motives of such conduct I pretend not to develope; but if we may judge from many suspicious circumstances, they were none of the most respectable. In private life, I see you peevish, splenetic, and malignant; and judging by analogy in your public conduct, I see you obstinate, without being consistent; vindictive without being spirited; and self-interested without being wise. The proof of these assertions shall form the substance of the following address.

"A spirit of enquiry into the origin of government, an examination into the mutual principles of political authority and submission, had for some time past become the occupation of the learned, and a common

topic of conversation in cultivated society. The spirit of philosophy and research which had hitherto overcome the grosser prejudices of our system, now attacked the abuses of our constitution and the corruptions of our administrations. No unbiassed and independent mind could conceive, why in this country alone, the advantage of the many should have been sacrificed to the ambition of the few. The candid and liberal politician could not reconcile to himself, that three-fourths of the people of Ireland should be deprived of all political rights, merely because they professed a form of religion somewhat different from that of the remaining portion of her inhabitants. These ideas becoming general and acknowledged, it occurred to some men to form themselves into a society, for the purpose of promoting a reform of the abuses of our constitution, and obtaining freedom for the enslaved portion of their countrymen. They accordingly formed that society, consisting at first of only a few; but those few were equal to an host, because they were supported by the strength of reason, and had talents to avail themselves of so powerful an auxiliary. They assembled, and consulted on the most likely methods to effectuate the purposes of their institution; and as the first step, they addressed the people of Ireland in the language of eloquence and truth; and to the Irish nation, eloquence and truth never pleaded in vain. Accordingly, the contagion spread, the principle disseminated, the society increased, till what at first was the object of your contempt, became at length honoured by your apprehensions. What was

then your conduct? You procured, or advised, or supported an act of parliament, professedly levelled at this society, by which it was silenced and dissolved. This was the first effort of your illiberality and persecution, and the consequences were such as might easily be foreseen. Their former conviction remained unanswered; their enthusiasm was strengthened by an act, which forbade them to speak, but could not forbid them to think. While there was no penalty annexed to their meetings and addresses, their proceedings were carried on in the open face of the world and of day. If their reasoning was false, it was open to refutation, and defeated its own purposes; if their addresses were seditious, they were liable to punishment by the existing laws of the country; but they were neither false nor seditious,—why then suppress them by a particular law? Because they were dangerous. Granted. My lord, they were indeed dangerous; but not to the people of Ireland. They were dangerous, my lord, to the corruptions of administration; they were dangerous to the abuses of our constitution; they were dangerous to the power, the oppressions, the peculations of his majesty's ministers; and therefore it was that his majesty's ministers determined to repress them: but the settled convictions of reason, were not to be quashed by the persecuting spirit of a despotic parliament, backed by the thoughtless ferocity of a deluded soldiery. Forbid to assemble publicly, their wrongs compelled them to associate privately; and thus, my lord, you and the other hirelings of Mr. Pitt were the first founders of that institution, which, under the name

of United Irishmen, trampled, as you say, law and humanity under foot. It is you, my lord, that first organized a system which has since baffled all your skill to unravel and detect. It is you, my lord, who in fact, are answerable for all the crimes and excesses which have since been committed; thousands of murdered ghosts (could the spirits of the dead again beset this world) would haunt your lordship's pillow, and murmur curses on your head—but curses never *kill*, and you, therefore, despise them.

"After such an example you might have learned a little wisdom; but you were above being instructed by experience, and to shew your consistency you repeat your former error. You passed new laws to punish offences of your own creation. You first stimulate the people to rebellion, and then invent new acts to quell the spirit your own folly had excited. What were the consequences? The system increased under persecution—the disturbance of a parish or a county spread over a province; and, under the influence of your lordship's measures, Ulster became discontented. New acts were then passed; the spirit burst beyond the narrow limits of a province, and became the general sentiment of the kingdom; and yet, my lord, you still talk of coercion! Is this consistency, or is it obstinacy?

"Look, you say, to the north; see in the present calm of that province the happy effects of coercion. The argument is as senseless as the calm is delusive. Believe me, my lord, the spirit is not extinct, though the people are almost extirminated—the sentiment still lives in those few bosoms that have escaped the

murderous progress of my Lord B—— and his myrmidons. It is now a smothered, and therefore more tremendous sentiment that pervades the north. They now only wait for a favourable opportunity to express their feelings, and much I fear that opportunity is now at hand.

"But the south, my lord, look there and behold the happy effects of your lordship's coercion; see here how murders multiply on your conscience—think what a change your system has there accomplished in a short time! Look but twelve months back, and all was loyalty and affection; look now, and you see nothing but hatred and universal revolt—and yet you still talk of coercion. Is that, my lord, consistency or obstinacy?

"In a former part of this address, I said you were vindictive without being spirited; let me therefore make an appeal to your pusillanimity: and then, if you will grant to your fears what you have refused to your reason, you should remember, my lord, that till lately you had a worthy coadjutor? who, with you, divided the odium of the nation, and bore an equal portion of public infamy and contempt. But, my lord, he has now shrunk from the dangerous situation—the hardy but mistaken zeal of too-devoted enthusiasts has roused his apprehensions, and if I am rightly informed, he is not now the intrepid being that once braved a mob, and sustained the execrations of England. His conscience has at length awakened his fears, shewing what he deserves; he has learned to dread what he may meet, and by the meanness of his retreat has added cowardice to

the catalogue of his vices. That he, indeed, should have embarked in so desperate a cause is not astonishing; his name, his family, his connexions—the early prejudice of his nature—the first efforts of his political life—precluded him from public confidence, and stamped him the instrument of tyranny, and the minion of despotism. But that you, my lord, entering life as you did, with an academic education, a liberal profession, a splendid fortune, and a respectable understanding, should have linked your destiny with such a man, and declared yourself the champion of a sinking cause, is really unaccountable. His character was stamped in the hereditary and indelible infamy of his family. A long line of ancestry, as faithless and vicious as himself, rendered the name of *Satanides* too notorious for the virtues of a single life to redeem. As long as the Irish language survives, and as widely as it may be disseminated, the names of treachery and *Satanides* will be synonimous: he will ever carry about him an antidote to confidence; the people would distrust him in the sincerest and most disinterested proffer of his services; they would instinctively be on their guard against any effort of malice, and in the moments of his most honest warmth, would examine what opportunity he had to betray.

"But you, my lord, had no such difficulty to contend with. The antiquity of your name, was no impediment to your success. You came forward with no family prejudices on your head. Your pedigree is lost in the obscurity of the first degree. You had your character to form; and if you had

made the first advances, the people would have received you, knowing, as they do, that the rankest weeds and most luxuriant fruit, are the produce of the dunghill. Had you possessed but the common prudence of your profession, or the common spirit of your age, you might in time have been esteemed by your sovereign, and beloved by your country; you might, with your talents and profession, have risen to honours and emoluments, on the pinions of public esteem and approbation, and drowned the recent establishment of your name, in the effulgence of your virtues. But, my lord, you have despised these advantages; you have lost the glorious opportunity of a just renown, and sacrificed your virtue, your character, and I will add, your happiness, for the paltry considerations of a pension and a coronet: for in fact, my lord, these are the only rewards of a life, spent in the most infamous and degrading duties of a corrupt administration—these are the only compensations you enjoy, for the sacrifice of every virtue, and the dereliction of every principle.

"Yet, my lord, even these rewards, inconsiderable as they are, will not, I fear, be as permanent as you may imagine; and Heaven, as a proof of its justice, seems determined to make you the instrument of your own downfall. My lord, the ancients entertained a superstition, that in certain circumstances, men were irresistibly impelled by some secret power to their own destruction; or to use a word that seems to be immediately derived from the superstition, that they were infatuated. Such, my lord, at

present seems your situation, you seem to shut your eyes on the situation of this country, you seem incapable of deriving any advantage from the example of another country. The hand of Fate seems upon you, and you still go on as foolishly confident and as madly gay, as the insect that flutters around the torch, or the bird that cannot resist the fascinations of the serpent's jaws, that are extended to devour him.

"I know, my lord, you plume yourself on the imaginary safety of your situation. But pride not yourself any longer on that circumstance—deceive yourself no longer—I tell you, you are in danger. Think not to screen yourself behind the shield of parliamentary support; repose not on the delusive promises of military protection; they will avail you nothing, in the dread moment of national retribution, or amid the confusion of revolutionary vengeance.

"At such a moment, if unhappily a perseverance in your present conduct should induce it, the sacred person of the judge will not be respected, your elevated situation will not protect you, the formalities of trial may be laid aside, and the cautious and established rules of evidence may be exploded; at such a juncture, the forms of law may not be insulted to justify your execution, there will be no necessity for suborned testimony, or intoxicated jurymen, to procure your condemnation. Ireland can afford the clearest evidence of your crimes; the unanimous voice of its inhabitants will pronounce you guilty. On such an occasion, our disgust

against the duty of the executioner will be suspended, and men will contend for the honour of terminating so destructive an existence.

"I repeat, my lord, the caution :—reflect on your situation before you again proceed on your desperate system of coercion; consider that that amiable companion of your crimes, has shrunk from the danger of his situation—and it was infinitely less perilous than yours; he was only the vile instrument of your schemes, the executioner of your projects, the insignificant puppet exposed upon the stage, while you, behind the scenes, pointed his sword and guided his devastations. His were only the contemptible qualifications, of a bloody hand and a relentless bosom: it was you, my lord, that possessed the nobler merit of a heart to conceive, and a head to justify, the most atrocious acts of a vindictive administration. Thus, my lord, did you expose him to the danger, while you hoped to monopolize the credit; thus did you gratify your vengeance, while you consulted your safety; and thus did you prove my assertion—that you were vindictive without being spirited.

"But that no motive of conviction, apprehension, or prudence, may be wanting to make you alter your conduct, let me, if possible, awaken your emulation, and make even your vanity subservient to the salvation of your country; let me hold up to your view a character, who, though I think mistaken in some points, is, nevertheless, entitled to the highest respect, because his are the mistakes of principle. Look to the venerated character of your antagonist on a late important question, and there behold the

just prerogative of virtue and principle. Compare, my lord, the mild, the polished, the benevolent eloquence of that nobleman, with the pertness of upstart insolence, and the flippancy of habitual assumption of superiority; see how he commands the attention of his fellow peers, the gratitude of his country, and restrained even the petulancy of your lordship. Confounded and abashed by the presence of a man, whose principles you hated, and whose spirit you dreaded; you paid an extorted and unwilling homage to the ascendancy of his character, and granted to his virtue, that respect so unusual to you, and which you refused to the meekness and profession of a preacher of the gospel and a minister of religion. Had, my lord, that dignified object of your oblique attack been a layman, that attack had been unprovoked; as a clergyman, it was more—it was cowardly. But, pardon me; I had almost forgotten that romantic bravery forms no feature of your lordship's character. Had I recollected the meanness of your submission, and the asperity of your vengeance against the unhappy F——, I should not have been surprised at anything you could have done.

"*Your attack on another victim of your persecution, was equally haughty* and unprovoked. You should have known, my lord, that it was illiberal and unmanly to assault any man when he had not the opportunity of retaliation or defence; but unfortunately, in the present instance, his want of your successful hypocrisy has afforded you some excuse; yet there was a time, my lord, when you dared not

have murmured but a censure against a man whose talents you dreaded.

"Think not, however, I mean to defend him, for he is far above the reach of your malice or my praise: no, I enter not into the question of his merits; but I shall always insist that, as a peer of the realm, you indulge your malignity in an attack you shrunk from as a commoner; and, avoiding a contest with an acknowledged superior, attempted, like a coward, to assassinate the man you dreaded to encounter as an equal.*

(Signed) "DION."

It is impossible to entertain any opinion but one of the extreme imprudence displayed in this letter, and of the folly of pointing out the dangers to their adversaries, which the writer and his party were endeavouring to create. The prophesy with respect to the speedy termination of the power and influence of Lord Clare, was soon verified, though the mode of its accomplishment was somewhat different from that predicted. His lordship lived long enough to feel the effects of the great measure he had been mainly instrumental in achieving, in his own humiliation. He survived the success,—which was ruinous to his country and fatal to himself,—a little better than two years. The execrations of the people,

* The sixty-seventh number of the "Press" was the last that was published, on the 3rd of March, 1798. This letter was printed in No. 68, which was seized on the day of its intended publication. Consequently, in the copies of the "Press" which are now to be met with, the letter to Lord Clare is not found.

which pursued him through life, accompanied him to the grave; and the attendants at his funeral had the painful spectacle to witness, of indignities offered to his remains, such as were never, perhaps, before exhibited on such an occasion.* Previous to his interment, the street in which he had resided was beset by a multitude of people—in fact, for some days, the neighbourhood of Ely Place resembled a fair. The only approach I ever witnessed to the savage expression of public exultation, at the interment of a man in the same degree unpopular, was at the funeral of the late Marquess of Londonderry, when his remains were received at the porch of Westminster Abbey, with three distinct shouts of acclamation from the multitude of his countrymen assembled at the door of the cathedral.

From the period of John Sheares becoming a member of the directory, his activity was unceasing; and the various addresses to the United Irishmen from the directory, through the Dublin committee, from the middle of March to the 20th of May, were drawn up by him. Every exertion that it was possible to make, to retrieve the injury caused by the arrest of the eminent leaders of the society, was made by him.

In one of the above-mentioned addresses, the people were strongly recommended to abstain from

* It was one of his lordship's vaunting menaces, in the hey-day of his political power and authority, that he would make the people of Ireland as tame as cats! At the interment of his remains in St. Peter's Church-yard, a number of dead cats were flung upon his coffin.

the consumption of exciseable articles, or those which pay customary duties, such as wine, spirits, sugar, tobacco, &c.; to banish all violent and intemperate language at their meetings; to diminish as much as possible the risk of taking the oath of the United Irishmen; to be cautious in their admission of members; to abstain from meetings in public houses, &c.

Of the various addresses drawn up by John Sheares, in the short interval of his direction of the affairs of the Union, there is one which is too characteristic of the intemperate language of the writer to be omitted.

"IRISHMEN:

"A new act of base and perfidious tyranny, directed against the whole of the patriotism of Ireland, though immediately and personally operating on only a few individuals, has deprived us for a time of the countenance and consolation of honest and able men, whose only crime is the suspicion of being your friends. Our oppressors, despairing to effect, by the most subtle refinements of legalized murder—by partial sheriffs, by packed juries, and by judges, sanguinary, timid or corrupt, the destruction of the victims whom they had pre-doomed to die at the approaching assizes, so long as they could leave them the protection of faithful and eloquent advocates, known to be zealous in their cause, and pledged to their defence,—have robbed the latter of liberty, in order to rob the former of life.

"That administration, and that legislature, who so lately told you *there was no conciliation for Ireland,* have with perfect consistency, followed up this denunciation of carnage and proscription—of fire and sword—of robbery and rape. This explicit and unequivocal *declaration of war* on the Irish people, by a proceeding which leaves not a shadow of doubt or ambiguity to disguise their intentions—which forces four hundred thousand fighting men, the physical strength of Ireland, to make, in convenient time, their final option between death and self-defence—and which proves, by evidence more than palpable, that this nation and that administration cannot exist together.

"Yet has this, their last treason, like all their former ones, turned with an overwhelming recoil upon themselves. On the memorable day, which saw so many virtuous and respectable citizens of Dublin dragged ignominiously to prison, by arbitrary mandates *unsupported by information on oath,* confusion and trepidation marked the conduct of the oppressors, while the unclouded serenity, the calm unassuming fortitude of conscious innocence, beamed from the countenances of the oppressed, with mingled horror and contempt: the capital saw the *Prime-Miscreant,* the Robespierre of Ireland, the nefarious author and apologist of atrocities without name and number, appalled by the mere gaze of Irish eyes, and shaking in a paroxysm of rage and terror, while the murderous weapon trembled in his palsied hand, the strong thirst of blood struggling in

vain with the still stronger impulses of conscious guilt and native cowardice.

"For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquillity, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as innocence can make men now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect.* No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the sentinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests, stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion at all requiring it, rely on receiving.

"This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you, who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies *talk* of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of *creating* it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen, but be

cool and cautious; be patient yet awhile; trust to no unauthorized communications; and, above all, we warn you, again and again we warn you, against doing the work of your tyrants, by *premature,* by *partial,* or *divided* exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard; let it be at *her own* time, not *theirs.*

"Dublin, March the 17th, (St. Patrick's Day,) 1798."

CHAPTER V.

In 1794, the funeral of the Rev. William Jackson, who was convicted of high treason, was publicly attended by a considerable number of the leaders of the United Irishmen. Among those who were bold or indiscreet enough, to form part of his cortege, and make this open admission of their sympathy with the views of the deceased, were John and Henry Sheares. The attorney-general, Mr. Wolfe, had been applied to, to take some rigorous measures against the barristers who attended the remains of the unfortunate Jackson to the grave. But this excellent and upright man, declined to do so. We are informed by Barrington, that the reasons he assigned for passing over this act, were, that "both the honour of his profession and the feelings of his own mind, prevented him from giving publicity to, or stamping as a crime, what he was sure, in its nature, could only be an inadvertency."

Shortly afterwards, the Sheares had another proof given them, of the mildness and clemency of his disposition. An ex-officio information had been filed against a printer in Cork, for matter objection-

able to the government, published in a newspaper of that city. Sir Jonah Barrington, states, that the two Sheares turned out to be the real editors of the paper. They were certainly closely connected with the paper, but it is very doubtful, if they were the editors or proprietors of it. Sir Jonah states, that they begged of him, to intercede with the attorney-general. "He had always a strong feeling for the honour and character of his profession, and forgave all parties on conditions which he (Sir Jonah) all but vouched for, but to which they certainly did not adhere."*

The interference of Sir Jonah Barrington, on this occasion, was creditable to his good-nature; but his conduct on a subsequent occasion, it will be seen, was less so to the consistency of his character, than to the perspicuity of his prophetic observation. But in the instance of his interference with the attorney-general, on the part of the Sheares, he was deterred by no conviction of the criminality of his friends, from coming forward on their behalf; and yet he subsequently called the paper, against which the ex-officio information had been granted, "a seditious paper," and the office he performed, that of "a mediator between the rebels and Lord Kilwarden."

His interference, however, was a proof of the placability, as well as the pliability of his natural disposition. Previously to this affair, on the 29th of April 1793, a duel took place between Sir Jonah and Mr. M'Nally, the barrister, and both parties were slightly wounded on that occasion. Sir Jonah's

* Vide Irish Sketches, vol. ii. p. 65.

second, was a Mr. Henry Harding, and M'Nally's was John Sheares, who was accompanied to the ground by his brother Henry and Mr. Bagenal Beauchamp Harvey.

"Both of the latter," says Sir Jonah, "were, I believe, amicably disposed; but a negotiation could not be admitted, and to it we went." The express acknowledgment of the amicable disposition of Henry Sheares and Harvey, and omission of any mention of a desire for an arrangement on the part of John, shews pretty plainly, Sir Jonah's opinion that no such desire was manifested by him.

Sir Jonah has given a ridiculous version of this rencontre, in which he damages as much as possible, but in the most "facetious" way imaginable, "his friend" M'Nally. He represents the quarrel as fastened on him by the latter on very little provocation. M'Nally," he says, "was a good-natured, hospitable, talented, dirty fellow, and had, by the latter qualification, so disgusted the circuit bar, that they refused to receive him at their mess—a cruelty I set my face against, and every summer-circuit endeavoured to vote him into the mess, but always ineffectually; his neglect of his person, the shrillness of his voice, and his frequenting low company, being assigned as reasons which never could be set aside."* But, according to Sir Jonah, the bar would not only not mess with him, but they would not fight with him, and this, in Sir Jonah's estimation, was "the cruelest cut of all." It reminds one of Tom Cringle's serious objection to either feeding or fighting

* Vide Irish Sketches, vol. ii. p. 27.

with the Americans. Harry Deane Grady, it seems, had refused to fight M'Nally; and in his despair of getting any one to fight him, according to Sir Jonah, he fixed a quarrel, without much rhyme or reason, for the mere purpose of making a character at the expense of Sir Jonah's condescension, whose own character was of course already made.

The plain facts of the matter are these:—Sir Jonah Barrington, in 1793, in the course of his professional duties, took occasion to speak of the members of the United Irishmen in opprobious terms, and he was called to an account for so doing, by a member of that society, Mr. Leonard M'Nally.

In one of the well-known organs of the United Irishmen, "The Northern Star," of the 3rd of March, 1797, the duel between these gentlemen is mentioned as having occurred in consequence of Counsellor Barrington, at the trial of a gentleman for an assault, having used disparaging language with respect to the United Irishmen society, "*of which,*" (adds the editor), "*Mr. M'Nally is a member.*" The latter assertion is deserving of notice, for reasons already stated. There can be no question but the editor of the "Northern Star," had good means of knowing what leading men were members of that society, and who, belonging to the popular party, were not.

John Sheares, I conjecture, became a member of the directory subsequently to his visit to Wexford, to attend the assizes there; and in all probability, had he and his brother not had the misfortune of meeting Barrington at Harvey's dinner table, their fate not

having been predicted by the prophet Jonah, they never would have been included in the fulfilment of that part of his prediction which had reference to the execution of his friends.

The Sheares, it would appear, by one of the letters of John, the day previous to his execution, imagined they had escaped the notice of government; and nothing against them being disclosed in Mr. Reynolds's information, they imagined that no suspicion was entertained of them. They were completely mistaken: they were known to have succeeded the arrested members of the directory, in furthering its objects; they were watched and set, but they were left at large for some time, to allow the premature explosion of the rebellion to take place, for the same reason that Lord Edward was left at large after the arrests at Bond's for several weeks, during which time Messrs. Hughes and Reynolds visited him in his places of concealment, at Cormick's and Thomas-street, and at Dr. Kennedy's, in Aungier-street.

The "gentleman" to whom was committed the honourable task of worming himself into the confidence of the Sheares, for the purpose of betraying them, was a lieutenant in the King's County militia, of the name of John Warnford Armstrong. He is living, and has long been distinguished for his zeal and activity in his magisterial office.

Sir Jonah's black list, made out merely for amusement, on the Bridge of Wexford, by some invisible agency—of some bird of passage, perhaps of prey—must have been picked up and fortunately let fall

at the feet of Mr. Secretary Cooke. A year subsequently, Sir Jonah sought for the office of solicitor-general; and "under all circumstances," he states, "Lord Clare and Lord Castlereagh considered his services had deserved the attention of the government:" nevertheless, Sir Jonah was crotchetty on the subject of "the creeping incipient Union," and he was left with his knighthood, his place, and his silk gown; and he considered his "services, under all circumstances," inadequately remunerated.

But Sir Jonah's true character was never so clearly exhibited as on the debate in the Irish Commons, shortly after the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, on the amnesty which had been recently granted to the unfortunate people, who were called rebels; for, indeed, the whole of the peasantry of Ireland were, previously to that act, considered "out of the king's peace." Sir Jonah, in unmeasured terms, condemned the policy of lenient and conciliatory measures towards rebels, whose subjection was not yet complete: "And this ill-timed amnesty," he said, "was only calculated to irritate and discourage the brave defenders of the country, who had shewn such energy in its defence." This was the most sanguinary and uncalled-for speech, that had been pronounced in the house since that of Mr. Claudius Beresford, at the commencement of the struggle. Barrington's speech was the most wanton in its wickedness, because the rebellion was already suppressed, and the wretched people in complete subjection. Indeed, Sir Jonah seldom or ever spoke in the house, except in hostility to the liberties of the people, or in opposition to

their advocates; yet his own party distrusted his sincerity, and his opponents left their ranks open to him, and seldom replied to him with any acrimony, when he abused them, believing that he was not in earnest, and being willing to leave him a "locus penitentiæ" on the opposition benches.

The United Irishmen were influenced in their conduct towards him, by the same opinions of the weakness of his attachment to his party, and their expectation of detaching him from it. Hence the intercourse which existed between them; and, at last, it proved fatal to the Sheares.

CHAPTER VI.

The account of "The Northern Star," "The Press," and "The Union Star," was intended to give some idea of the real as well of the avowed object of those who conducted or contributed to those papers. Among the latter, the Sheares were not the least active; John especially, in connection with the organs of the United Irishmen, both in Cork and Dublin.

The qualities of the two brothers differed widely. Henry was naturally fonder of the pleasures of society than of political excitement; he was luxurious in his tastes, shewy in his dress, expensive in his habits, naturally facile in his disposition, easily irritated, and quickly appeased. He shrunk at the approach of sudden or unexpected danger, and was unfitted to encounter it, though not from a deficiency in that kind of bravery which is exhibited in "affairs of honour." If it be a criterion of resolution, on any occasion of personal insult, to be ready to shoot the offender, or stand to be shot at, he wanted not courage; but if mental fortitude is to be distinguished from physical courage, the former cannot be attri-

buted to Henry Sheares. But while this admission is made, it may be said with equal truth, that a more strictly honourable man, in all his private relations and professional pursuits, did not exist.

He was, indeed, ill-adapted for the strife of political life. The influence of a beloved brother, possessed of superior mental powers, whose political opinions were firmly established and boldly asserted, drew him away from the social and family circle, in which his enjoyments chiefly centred.

John Sheares, by many years his junior, was of a character that required to be known intimately, and by those private friends in whom he thoroughly confided, to enable any estimate to be formed of his merits or defects. Hitherto, we have only been made acquainted with the latter.

For the information I have received with regard to him, I am principally indebted to a lady, who had been most intimately acquainted with him, on whom he had placed his affections, and by whom his name was never mentioned to her latest hour, but with tenderness and sorrow.

The qualities of this lady, indeed, were calculated to win the esteem of all who knew her; they were of an order to be prized by one who was, of all men, most capable of appreciating a noble nature and a cultivated mind—the late Sir Walter Scott.

The amiable and highly-gifted lady, I refer to, in communicating to me a written account of her knowledge of the family, and especially of that member of it, whose every secret was known to her, was pleased to leave the matter to my decision, whether her name

should be given in the correspondence which she placed in my hands, and in relation to that attachment which is the subject of it.

"In publishing their lives," she says, "as it is likely mention must be made of me, at first I thought of your using the initials of my name, or of being designated Maria S——e; but, on consideration, I withdraw the scruple, and leave all to your own good judgment."

Exercising that judgment to the best of my ability, and with all the consideration that would be due to the feelings of that most estimable lady, were she living, and that I owe to her memory, now that she is no more—I give her name without reserve; because I feel, in all sincerity, without injury to it, that the name of Maria Steele will be associated with that of John Sheares, as that of Amelia Curran is with Robert Emmett's; and those names will be remembered with tenderness and pity, when those which they subsequently received, may be less remembered.

The following memorandum of Maria Steele's recollection of both the brothers, but more particularly of John, was presented to me by that lady in 1835, in reply to some queries of mine, respecting the subjects of this memoir:

"Both the brothers had been United Irishmen more than a year, when I first knew them in 1794: and they attended the meetings of that society as many others then did. A speech that was made at one of those meetings, gave Lord Clare an opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of them in the

House of Lords, the consequence of which was a demand for an explanation from the eldest. They had become United Irishmen at the same time; but there was nothing legally criminal in their proceedings till 1798.

"In the year 1797, about Christmas, John was intensely desirous of going to America. He was indeed very anxious to leave Ireland, and would have gone wherever those he was attached to pleased, but he would not go without one particular companion. He sometimes talked of going to France in a diplomatic character, but I don't believe he ever made an effort to get appointed. He was prompt to acknowledge the danger of French assistance; and latterly America was the country he was always wishing to go to. They had been to France together, to see the three children of Henry, who were with the parents of his late wife in one of the provinces. The revolution was then going on, and it drew them to Paris. Of the other brothers, one had been drowned before my acquaintance with them, in trying to save his brother John; another brother, Christopher, was in the army, and died in the West Indies.

"John used to say, with great emotion, that he had caused the death of two of his brothers, one who was drowned in saving him, the other who was reluctant to go to the West Indies till persuaded by him to go there. Their sister Julia was never married, she died not long ago. My sister thinks she remembers their married sister, Mrs. Westrop, at a ball given by Henry, but never saw her before, or after; and never heard either brother speak of their

married sisters. Both brothers were fondly attached to their sister Julia.

"Henry's first wife, was a Miss Swete of Cork, only daughter of a merchant supposed to be very rich; but the father, soon after the marriage, became a bankrupt.

"When Lord Clare was Mr. Fitzgibbon, a struggling barrister, and before he knew Miss Whaley, he paid his addresses to Miss Swete, and was rejected. She afterwards eloped with Henry Sheares; this circumstance, and the explanation subsequently demanded (though no public apology was made,) were I fear, too long remembered.

"Henry's income was called twelve hundred a year; John's fortune, three thousand pounds. At the time he joined the Society of United Irishmen, he was not embarrassed, his little fortune was then whole, and fully satisfied his wants. He bought nothing but books.

"Henry lived beyond his income; his affairs were somewhat embarrassed, and he sold a part of his property; he also borrowed a good deal from John, who at one time wished to reside apart from his brother, but could not, on that account. In 1797, Henry was for some time in a retired lodging, at No. 5, Mecklenburgh Street, the house of a Miss Halpen. He was successful at the bar, till the Chancellor became the enemy of the brothers. Lord Clare's enmity was chiefly against Henry; John had no quarrel with him; but on their conviction, it was said, he could not be spared and Henry put to death. After Henry's correspondence with the

chancellor, he prevented them from doing business in his court as lawyers. John then became exasperated, and spoke more severely of him, than he had done before, on account of his politics. He always thought him an enemy to Ireland. When I knew the brothers, in 1794, they had been at the bar some time, and lived together in Henry Sheares's house, in Baggot Street.

"Henry's second wife was a Miss Sally Neville, a beautiful and accomplished woman; I remember her well. He had two children by his second marriage.

"Henry Sheares was naturally high-spirited, eloquent in discourse, and possessed of a remarkably martial and noble bearing; but his great hauteur and want of discretion, would have made him a bad leader in any public cause. In his domestic relations, he was warm, tender, indulgent, willing to promote every present amusement,—but wanting calculation and foresight for the future. I have always heard he was a fair scholar; and have heard good judges say, that they had never seen a library so admirably selected as that of the Sheares. Henry was not considered so deeply read as John. He did not give so much time to study; but he never appeared deficient in company, either with the learned, or with those whose reading lay more amongst works of imagination and modern literature. He spoke with great fluency and elegance on literary subjects, but not without a degree of characteristic pride. His disposition was most generous; but he was not patient or forbearing. He

would have made a good despot, if there can be such a thing. He spoke with much violence at times, even in society; but though haughty, and sometimes fierce, he was not of a cruel temper.

"He used *to talk* of republicanism—but he was formed for courts. He loved power, and splendour, and luxury. The self-denying virtues he knew not. He was, however, an accomplished gentleman, fond of society, and capable of adding lustre to the most brilliant circle.

"If it was possible for either brother to have acted on the proclamation attributed to John, found at the house of Henry, it was more so for the latter than for John, who was supposed to have written it; but Henry was as incapable of deliberate cruelty as his brother.

"In his person, he was tall and finely-proportioned, nearly six feet in height, more robust and muscular than his brother John, but not too large. His step was stately—not to say haughty; and his air much more that of a military man than a lawyer. His features were not ill-formed, but his face was not at all pleasing. His eye was proud, and the lower part of his face disfigured by what is called claret-marks, which gave rather a fierce expression to his countenance. When he conversed with women, his countenance softened, and he flattered them with great eloquence: they generally liked him. I did not know him half so well as I knew his brother.

"When I first became acquainted with the brothers in 1794, I heard that John was six-and-twenty,

and Henry about five-and-thirty. The latter looked a great deal older than his brother.

"John was considered greatly superior to his brother in talents. My intimacy with him commenced in 1794: at that time, he was in the habit of attending the meetings of the United Irishmen. Of the leading men of that society, Simon Butler was one for whom he appeared to have the most sincere respect. I do not think he was very intimate with any of them in private. In the evening soirées at Henry's house, there were no United Irishmen very frequently, but themselves. Latterly, John was in the habit of seeing Surgeon Lawless a good deal. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and John were not intimately acquainted. He thought Lord Edward's talents were only military. I doubt if either of the brothers was highly in the confidence of Lord Edward. They thought him ardent and sincere; but both spoke impatiently on the subject of his talents as a leader—and more than impatiently! John was a firm republican in his principles; but a stranger to violence of any kind, till his mind was overwhelmed. His character seemed changed after Christmas, 1797; he was very desirous then to leave Ireland.

"In regard to the proclamation found in his desk, I believe he was the writer of it; though that was never fully proved. At the time when it was supposed to have been written, he appeared so altered, that those who used to delight in listening to him would scarce know him. His mind seemed to have lost its

balance. Even his dress was not the same—his hair was neglected, &c., &c. In March 1798, he became a member of the Directory, and then first took any active part in the rebellion: I do not think he desired a revolution, till at a very late period of the struggle. In becoming an United Irishman, his views were, like those of all the educated and honourable persons of the society—catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform. At first there were more Protestants than Roman Catholics engaged in it; and much more in the north than any other quarter of the kingdom;—it was latterly that it became a religious struggle. I might say that John Sheares was naturally inclined to republicanism; but he afterwards thought that Roman catholics were not suited for republican institutions. He used to laugh at titles, and make little of grandeur; and with respect to resistance—he thought no war justifiable but a defensive one.

"His characteristic qualities were—benevolence and filial and fraternal affection—a love of his fellow-creatures, and an anxiety to befriend them. As a son, as a brother, *as a friend,* I have never seen him surpassed. I am not aware if he used to write for the periodicals of the day; but I know that he was in the habit of composing very beautiful little pieces, both in prose and poetry: some small pieces of his I have. I do not know what became of his papers. I have got copies of the letters he wrote to his mother and sister, and the original letter that he wrote *to a friend,* the day before his death.

"His habits were those of a literary man. On the

subject of catholic emancipation he was warm in its advocacy. In his manner he was remarkably frank. Where he gave his friendship he had no reserve; and he hated artifice. John's sentiments, at the commencement of his political career, were moderate; but latterly they became less so. He once drew up a plan of an independent government for Ireland, but it was done in rather a sportive kind of manner than in a serious mood; and when the mother of a young friend of his spoke with displeasure of it, he gave it to her to burn.

"In his religious opinions he was sceptical as to revelation; but never spoke of it with levity. He was naturally imbued with a strong sense of the power and goodness of the Creator; if I may say so, he worshipped God sincerely and fervently—but not as a christian. In speaking on religious subjects, to use his own words, prefixed to one of the pieces I send you:—'To sport with religious subjects, generally argues a want of intellect, or, what is worse, a depraved mind, that takes pleasure in wounding the feelings of others. Maria may perhaps, with too much reason, attribute the few following lines to the former, but never, I hope, to the latter of these defects.' * * * * * * *

"The brothers loved one another with extraordinary affection; and yet they were very different in their tastes and sentiments. Henry talked about republicanism, but John was an enthusiast in his attachment to it; all his habits of thinking tended that way. It suited the simplicity of his character, and the total absence of vanity that distinguished

him; but he often said it would not do for Ireland. As to his personal appearance—he was tall, and rather slender than full; not what is termed muscular, but well-proportioned and active.

"In his person, he differed strikingly from his brother. His air was gentle and unassuming, but animated and interesting. He was pale; rather light complexioned, with full blue eyes, and an open countenance; well-formed nose; large eloquent mouth, and white teeth; his voice was fine, his articulation very clear, his language rich, but quite unaffected; he had much playful wit and humour, but was easily made serious. You ask, was he of a sanguinary disposition? He was quite the reverse. He had a most tender heart, and benevolent disposition. While he was himself, he would not give pain of mind or body to any thing that lived. The brothers agreed, as I have said, in thinking Ireland ill governed, and the administration corrupt. The enclosed copies of the papers you saw, are all that now remain in my possession: I should have sent the originals of these sad memorials to you, had I suspected that I could still feel, as I felt while copying them. I thought age and infirmity had made me a better philosopher. Three of these have never been opened, except when you saw them, for more than thirty-four years. The letter had been shewn to E. M., and to no one else."

The following are copies of some of the papers referred to; the first is a copy of a letter to Miss Maria Steele, from John Sheares.

"Wednesday, ———.

"After the experience of last night's conversation, I can no longer doubt my utter inability personally to unburden to you, a heart which can find no utterance for the strength and variety of its emotions. Yet, be my fate what it may, the present state of suspense is no longer to be endured.—I would rather be that wretched outcast from every hope, which in a few hours I may find myself, than submit to the united tortures of doubt and fear. Recall, Maria, every moment of our past acquaintance, if such moments have made any impression on your memory; retrace the involuntary appearance of my growing attachment, to which every day, every hour, has continued to add strength, until existence itself is become inseparably united with it; and though no ray of sympathy should have enlightened your conviction, and informed your heart of what was passing within mine; though no verbal declaration escaped my lips of that passion, which so often fled to them for utterance, and was chased thence by a conscious want of pretension—still, Maria, your observation, however uninterested in the examination, must have convinced you of that sacred truth which has taken such full possession of my soul. You must have known I loved; but to what excess that passion had arrived—to what a degree you had become endeared to every thought and feeling of my heart—you could not have conjectured. Nor was it known, even to myself, till lately, when your existence was threatened, how incomparably more valuable it was to me

than my own. When I believed you irretrievably doomed to all the horrors of perpetual decrepitude,* I found how contemptible the fullest enjoyment of liberty and activity was become to me, while they were denied to you. I had already devoted to you a life, of no value to me if you refused its service; and in the midst of my anguish for your supposed misfortune, I cherished the dear idea of becoming instrumental to the alleviation of its poignancy. Overjoyed at your recovery, I sought to requite myself for the torment I had suffered, by abandoning myself to that sweet indulgence, in your society, which I had often before denied myself, in the hope of stifling that passion, which I had every reason to believe was wholly unreturned.

"The moment is now arrived, in which the fate of all my future life must be decided. Others may render me unhappy; but you alone, beloved Maria, can condemn me to misery. They may oppose my efforts to obtain the only object that can ensure my happiness; but even banished from your presence for ever, and driven from all human society, if convinced of possessing your affection, I should find in that one dear reflection a home, that would shelter me from despair:—deprived of them, I should feel myself a houseless wretch—however courted and protected by the rest of the world. This, ever beloved Maria, is not the language of a heated brain: it is a truth, confirmed by every feeling of a heart, which has loved in proportion as it has reflected.

* The allusion is to the consequences apprehended from an accident Miss Steele had met with.

"Not on your mercy, nor on your generosity, do I throw myself, but on your heart. I neither seek to excite your pity by complaint, nor your approbation by flattery. My own pride would forbid my using such unworthy means—though I were so grossly blind as not to perceive how disgusting and contemptible they must appear to a mind like yours.

"If, indeed, it be true, as you last night said, that you have not yet seen the man with whom you would commit your fate for life, mine is decided:—but one line of conduct would then become the being who aspired to you; and that, I trust, I have sufficient courage to pursue. Never need you fear, that a sigh of mine shall reach your ear, or even the slightest reproach suggest itself to my heart; for such would be the blackest injustice. I, who not only cannot find, in reviewing your conduct towards me, any source of hope, in look, word, or action, but can scarcely discover sufficient room for my escape from total despair—could I, without crime and absurdity, reproach you with the effects of my own presumption. But if—(dare I, Maria, indulge the bewitching illusion?)—if you shall have discerned, in the truth, the candour, the native feelings, and doting tenderness, of a heart that never has acknowledged any other power than yours, a claim superior to greater wealth, talents, and situation, and rewarded it with that affection you deny to them,—what must be my blissful state! Oh! Maria, the thought—the flattering, darling thought—is too seductive. I feel myself already at your mother's

feet, imploring her consent to devote every moment of my future life to the happiness of her invaluable daughter. Your sister, too,—will she not join her prayers with mine?—she has a feeling heart. But I must suppress the thought—it will only exasperate the anguish which probably awaits me. From your own lips, ever adored Maria, I will this evening learn my fate. Be that what it may,—rest assured, that to love you with unexampled truth, must ever be the vital principle that animates the heart of

"JOHN SHEARES."

The following production is inserted, less on account of any literary merit exhibited in it, than as a specimen of several similar pieces addressed to Miss Steele.

"*Elegy on the Death of Maria.*

"LET it not be imagined that Maria is dead, because her elegy is written on that supposition: nor let it be supposed that the author wished for the event he has chosen to celebrate.—Both of these are equally untrue. The fact is, the lady has no notion whatever of death—and the writer is deeply interested in her existence and happiness; but, as he thought some liberties might be permitted with her ghost (for ghosts cannot blush, for want of blood), which he may think dangerous to take with her living self, he has chosen the fiction to protect him from that resentment, which praise, however merited, excites in her diffident bosom. The fate of an

unfortunate son of Apollo, who suffered for a similar act of presumption, ought to have deterred his hardy successor; nor would any thing, but the threatened destruction of two sweet little poems by Maria, have ever dragged this feeble effort into view. It begins rather like an epitaph than an elegy; and is supposed to be engraved on a monument of white marble.

This envious marble hides from human sight
  A form that rivalled once its brightest hue;
But Parian lustre may again delight,
  Since fair Maria is withdrawn from view.

Yet not in splendour only did she rise
  O'er the proud honours of the Parian stone,
From the famed statue* turned all mortal eyes,
  Owned in Maria's form its grace outshone.

In vain did art exhaust its richest store,
  In vain to rules for symmetry appealed;
Maria came! The contest was no more!
  And Nature over Medicis prevailed!

But how describe that soul, so fully fraught
  With fire celestial, that the vital flame
Some spark Promethean must from heaven have caught:
  Oh! why did heaven its own so soon reclaim.

Her angel-virtues could not be concealed,
  Her angel-form disclosed the precious mine—
'Twas thus her bosom's rising snow revealed,
  The spotless purity that reigned within.

* In the Medicean Gallery.

'Twas thus those tender sympathies that vie,
With other's joys and other's keener woes,
Oft gambled in the sunbeam of her eye,
Or in its mournful torrents drowned repose.

What now avails that fine ethereal fire,
That soared to science and the Muses' lore?
The weeping Muses light the funeral pyre,
And pointing, cry "Maria is no more!"

She sung of Peace! In such sweet accents sung,
As in rebellious angels might have quelled
Their fatal rage; and had they heard her tongue,
Peace might again its old career have held

She sung of Spring: herself its sweetest flower,
Whose fragrant bloom enriched the youthful year.
She's gone, and Winter o'er the world must pour
Its show'ry griefs, and storm with wild despair.

For Peace to the Supreme Beneficence,
For Spring to nature's primal source she flies,
And Peace and Spring eternal she regains
Midst kindred angels in her native skies."

The following lines "On Friendship," written by John Sheares in 1789, in his twenty-second year, appeared in a collection of original poems, published by Edkins in that year. The ardent affection for a beloved brother, which is the subject of them, is so strongly evinced in this youthful composition, that they will be read with a mournful interest in the melancholy fate of two brothers, so closely and inseparably united, who lived and died, and even mouldered into dust together.

"In spring of life our early friendship sprung
With tender root, for yet the plant was young:
And may it still with thriving vigour grow,
Nor the chill blast of cold indifference know.
I fear not strife, or envy's hateful weeds:
Heav'n roots them out, and strews fair Friendship's seeds.

In youth's warm Summer—in the heat of toil
And worldly cares, when baneful passions broil;
Whether the load of bus'ness press the soul,
Or love, which reason seldom can control:
Still may the ceaseless stream of Friendship flow,
Our wearied minds refresh, and quench the rage of woe.

And when the Autumn of our days draws near—
When our fond homes domestic cares endear;
Retired from bustle and each vain pursuit,
Then we 'll enjoy fair Friendship's grateful fruit—
Ripened by time, its sweets increased each day,
In one continued course, and never to decay.

And last, when Wintry Age comes on apace,
Presents his feeble form and furrowed face;
With virtue armed, we 'll meet th' approach of death,
Take one farewell, and calmly yield our breath.
And may Almighty Mercy grant my prayer—
We 'll meet again on high, for ever freed from care."

Alas! their lot was not to reach that distant goal of happiness, and to find, in the decline of peaceful and prosperous life, those fond dreams of friendship realized, which seemed to promise all the fairest fruits of a matured affection, growing with their

growth, and strengthening with their knowledge and experience of the world. Ten years were not destined to pass over their heads, before that friendship was doomed to come to a premature and ignominious end. The malice of private enmity, cloaked under the garb of zeal for the public service, triumphed over its victims. That triumph, however, signal as it was, was of short duration, so far as the gratification of vindictive enmity was concerned. In less than four years, Fitzgibbon followed his victims to the grave. Their faults are half forgotten, in the reflection of the rigour of their fate, and the merciless hostility which pursued them through their short and unfortunate career: but the memory of that man, whose hatred to his country was too unrelenting and implacable to hope, even from oblivion, any abatement of its obloquy, survives in the minds of his countrymen, as if justice and humanity meant it to remain—a striking example of the lasting opprobrium, which is the penalty of all signal outrages on either.

CHAPTER VII.

If it had been possible, for the energy and activity of any one man to have retrieved the affairs of the society of the United Irishmen, after the arrest of Emmett, M'Nevin, and Bond, and the subsequent apprehension of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the exertions of John Sheares might have effected that object; but with the exception of Lawless, he had no available support, among those of his party who had escaped the fangs of Reynolds —on the contrary—he had the jealousy of some, the animosity of others, and the impetuosity of one individual, to contend with and restrain.

Samuel Neilson, the friend of Lord Edward, (whose fidelity to his party and fearlessness in its service, were, on this occasion, more conspicuous than his discretion,) had formed a plan for the release of the state prisoners, then confined in Newgate and Kilmainham jails. That Lord Edward had not been arrested at the time he formed this idea, and consequently that his liberation was not then contemplated by Neilson, is evident from Neilson's own account of the object he had in view, and also from the tenor of the dissua-

sive letter, written to him by John Sheares, and found on his person, the 23rd of May, when in the act of reconnoitring the prison, he was arrested in the front of Newgate, by Gregg the jailor.

The letter addressed to Neilson, was in the following terms :—

" Sir,

" I have sought you in every direction, but unfortunately in vain. It is now too late to use many words upon the subject of our intended interview, let it suffice to say, that I am acquainted with the destructive design you meditate, and am resolved to counteract it, whatever it may cost. Rest assured that nothing shall check a resolution, which honour, private affection and public duty unite to demand the immediate execution of, and that, however unwilling I may be at any other moment, to take the only steps which your obstinacy may render necessary this evening, for the preservation of my friends and of my country, I will without hesitation take them. The scheme you have undertaken I view with horror, whether its effects be considered as relating to my imprisoned friends, the destruction of whose property and lives must be the consequence even of your success; or as affecting Arthur O'Connor's existence, the precarious chance for which you thus cruelly lessen; or (what is superior to every other consideration) as ensuring the ruin of Ireland's freedom. In short, Mr. ————, to be candid with you, the scheme is so totally destitute of any apology, even from the plea of folly or passion, that I

cannot avoid attributing its origin to a worse cause, and nothing can convince me of the contrary, but your immediately foregoing so pernicious an enterprize. In these sentiments, I am not singular, nor in the resolution which arises from them, and should you doubt me, you must purchase your conviction at a severe cost. My resolution and that of my friends is this: if you do not, by nine o'clock this evening, give us every necessary and sacred assurance, that you will counteract and prevent the perpetration of this plot against all that you ought to hold dear, notice of it shall be given to the government, without a moment's delay, for we do prefer, that a few misguided (not to say guilty) individuals should perish, than that every remaining hope of our country's success, and the lives of our most valued friends, should be sacrificed by the accomplishment of a stupid, perhaps wicked undertaking. Do not feed yourself with hope that any consideration shall deter me from fulfilling this threat. If every poignard you could command, were at my throat, I would do my duty. I did think well of you, I wish to do so still, you alone can prevent me.

"J. S.

"I dine at 52, Abbey Street, where I shall expect your answer before eight o'clock."

It has been erroneously stated, in a recent publication, that the letter was written at the lodgings of Counsellor Sampson, with whom Sheares was supposed to have been dining.

Sampson had been arrested at Whitehaven, the

17th of April preceding, and had been upwards of a month in jail at the time this letter was written. John Sheares dispatched this letter to Neilson from the house of the uncle of Mrs. Henry Sheares, Mr. Brent Neville, a sheriff's peer and merchant, living at 52, Abbey-street.

The common opinion that Neilson's original purpose was to release his friend, Lord Edward, cannot be well founded: his lordship's arrest, in all probability, had not taken place when the letter was written to him by John Sheares. The release of the state prisoners who had been previously convicted and confined in Kilmainham jail, seems to have been the first object he aimed at.

John Sheares makes special reference to the danger in which the mad attempt of Neilson would involve Arthur O'Connor; but no mention is made of Lord Edward. Besides, when the latter was arrested, on the 19th of May, he was not confined in Kilmainham; and Neilson, on his examination before the secret committee, in answer to the query—"What was the purport of that letter?" (of John Sheares) replies, "To dissuade me from attacking Kilmainham jail." He was then asked, "Was there an intention of attacking Newgate?" (that is, on the 23rd of May)—and his reply is, "I believe there was an intention of attacking it on the night of the day on which I was arrested, in order to liberate Lord Edward Fitzgerald. I believe some hundreds were assembled at the Barley Fields for that purpose." *

* Vide Report of Examination of State Prisoners, 1798.

This proposed attack on Newgate was subsequent to the arrest of the Sheares, on the 21st of May; and the writer of this letter, who threatens Neilson with denouncing his insane project, as he considered it to be, to the government, was then no longer able to frustrate it, but had been denounced himself, and was an inmate of Kilmainham when Neilson was taking measures for the execution of his newly-devised project.

The step taken by John Sheares was indicative of the boldness and decision which belonged to his character, and of prudence, moreover, which shewed, that even after the arrests at Bond's and Murphy's, there were some leaders left, of competent abilities to conduct the affairs of the Union.

In the desperate circumstances which John Sheares found the society at the period of his becoming a member of the directory, so far as the interests of that society were considered, he certainly shewed no lack of ability and activity; and during the short period of his direction of its affairs, its friends had no just reason to complain of his discretion, except in that act of imprudent trust in the fidelity of one so little qualified to inspire his confidence, which was fatal to himself and his unfortunate brother.

In this respect he shared only in the indiscretion of all his associates, in reposing trust where an ordinary insight into character and conduct ought to have made men reserved and cautious.

The new directory had fixed on the 23rd of May for the rising of the people. On the 10th, a Captain John Warnford Armstrong, of the King's County

militia, a company of whose regiment was then stationed at the camp of Lehaunstown in the vicinity of the metropolis, visited Dublin, and made an apparently casual call at the bookshop of Mr. Byrne, of Grafton-street, which he had long been in the habit of frequenting. Byrne's establishment was the literary head-quarters of the leaders of the United Irishmen—himself a well-known member of their society. Armstrong was accustomed to buy there the publications of the day, of a republican and deistical tendency. By his own account, he was in the habit of procuring such works as Paine's "Age of Reason," "Common Sense," &c. &c.

That Byrne had good reason to think he understood the principles of his customer, is evident from his introduction of this man to the Sheares—an honour unsought and unsolicited by either of the brothers.

Captain Armstrong states that he had "known Byrne as his bookseller for about two years; he was there almost every day." On the 10th, he states, Byrne asked him "had he any objection to meet Mr. Sheares?" To which he replied, "He had not." "He did not know Byrne's purpose." He had followed him out when he had made the proposal; "at the time it was made they had not been speaking"—(on the subject of politics). But subsequently, on cross-examination, being asked "if the proposal to become acquainted with the Sheares was merely a wish of Mr. Byrne?" Armstrong replied, *"I do not know with whom the wish originated."*

It is needless, perhaps, to make much comment on the nature of his mission.

Mr. Belsham, in his history, speaking of the detection of the conspiracy which led to the previous arrests, says :—

"Government received full information from another quarter. A Captain Armstrong, a man of great address, had been instructed to profess himself a convert to the cause, to enter into the society, and to obtain—by a shew of zeal and all the attentions of assiduity—the confidence of the leaders; in all which he succeeded, to a very great degree, without exciting the remotest suspicion. A new executive directory had been appointed by the provincial delegates, amongst whom *were two brothers, of the name of Sheares,* by profession, barristers—young men of excellent talents, and politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new directors the profligate Armstrong obtained an introduction; and from them he learned that a general rising must immediately take place.

This zealous officer set about his work in a business-like manner; he took "a sheet of notes after each conversation," and daily detailed the contents to his employers, from memory, not from the memoranda, for these were not forthcoming till they were produced in evidence on the trial. To use his own words—'I never had an interview with the Sheares, that I had not one with Colonel L'Estrange and Captain Clibborn, and my Lord Castlereagh.'"

Armstrong, on leaving Byrne's on the 10th of May,

immediately proceeded to his brother officer, Captain Clibborn, and informed him of what had passed. The latter advised him "to give the Sheares a meeting." He then returned to Byrne's late the same day, and remained there till Henry arrived. Byrne led him to the inner part of the shop, toward a private room, and introduced him to Sheares, in these terms: "All I can say to you, Mr. Sheares, is that Captain Armstrong is *a true brother, and you may depend on him.*"

They remained at the entrance of the private room; but Henry Sheares declined any conversation, "except in the presence of his brother." Armstrong said, "he had no objection to wait until his brother came." Henry, however, declined to wait; and, shortly after, John Sheares arrived, and was introduced to him by Byrne.

John Sheares told Captain Armstrong, "he knew his principles very well." He then solicited him "to join the cause by action, as he knew he had done by inclination;" and Armstrong replied, "he was ready to do everything in his power for it, and if he could shew him how he could do anything, he would serve him to the utmost of his power." Sheares then informed him, he states, that the rising was very near; "they could not wait for the French, but had determined on a home effort;" and the principal way he could assist them, was by gaining over the soldiers, and consulting with him about taking the camp at Lehaunstown. John Sheares then made an appointment with him for the following Sunday, at his house in Baggot-street; and on that day he went and

found Henry only at home. He apologized for leaving him on the former occasion, "having had to attend a committee that day." The informer states, he then asked about the camp, where it was most vulnerable? how to be most advantageously attacked? John came in, and spoke about the necessity of gaining over the soldiers, and then informed Armstrong, that their intention was to seize the camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the city of Dublin in one night: there was to be an hour and a half between the seizing of the camp and Dublin; an hour between seizing Dublin and Chapelizod; so that the news of both might arrive at the same time.

The 13th, on Sunday night, at eleven o'clock, by appointment, Armstrong had another interview with the brothers at their house, for the purpose of getting the name of some soldiers in his regiment who were known to the United Irishmen.

On Wednesday, the 16th, Armstrong went to the house of his victims, but neither of them were at home; he returned to their house at six o'clock in the evening, and was shewn into the library. He saw John Sheares, who told him "he would introduce him to a friend of his (Surgeon Lawless), with whom he might consult and advise in his absence, as he must go down and organise Cork; the news of the rising of which, was to reach Dublin at the time of the outbreak there. If Henry Sheares had not declined opening his mind to Armstrong, and in fact, had not done so, from the same prudential motives which caused him to quit Armstrong's presence at their first interview, notwithstanding the latter's

desire to wait for the arrival of his brother; why did John find it necessary to introduce him to any other person but his brother, if the latter were inclined and qualified to consult and advise with him?

Henry Sheares evidently was disinclined to do so; he kept out of his way as much as possible; and at that interview on the 16th, he did not appear at all.

The following day, Thursday the 17th, this indefatigable officer was in pursuit of his newly-made friends; there was no escaping his assiduity, he was again at their hall door, and again admitted—a new victim was to be gained in the person of Surgeon Lawless. Both brothers were present at this meeting: Lawless, according to Armstrong, informed him, that "he had lately attended a meeting of deputies from almost all the militia regiments in Ireland, at which meeting there were two of his men." He said, he would obtain their names from a man (probably M'Cabe) who had been very active in making United Irishmen in every regiment that had been in Dublin for two years past. At this meeting, Henry Sheares was implicated by Armstrong in the knowledge of the military organization.

One might have thought sufficient had been gained at that morning's meeting, and the unfortunate family might have been spared its destroyer's presence for the remnant of that day. Again, however, that evening, Mr. Armstrong was at their house. He was shewn into the library; Henry was not there; but John was "at home" to him; and a written introduction was obtained from him to one

of the sergeants of Armstrong's regiment who was a United Irishmen. Lawless, at the morning interview, Armstrong says, spoke "of the trees to the right of the camp, as being very convenient for hanging people," in reference to the supposed successful issue of the rising.

The observation was one that a man of a weak mind, a wicked heart, and cowardly spirit, might have given utterance to. Lawless, however, was known to Moore "as a person of that mild and quiet exterior, which is usually found to accompany the most determined spirit." Teeling, who had ample opportunity to be acquainted with his character, describes him as "distinguished for the highest professional talents, remarkable for the suavity of his manners, and the classical refinement of his taste." His military abilities and courage recommended him, he says, to the especial favour of Napoleon. He rose to the rank of general in the French army, and distinguished himself in several engagements. At Walcheren, his intrepidity attracted the attention of both armies. When the town was taken possession of, he maintained his post for a considerable time with extraordinary courage; and when compelled to retreat, he wrapped the colours of his regiment round his body, plunged into the waves, and swam to an open boat, amidst a shower of bullets from the beach. At the battle of Dresden, we are informed by M'Nevin, he lost a leg. This gallant officer died in Paris, the 25th of December, 1824, universally respected and lamented by his companions. Was this the man to harbour the dastardly, vindictive,

and sanguinary sentiments attributed to him by this informer? On Sunday the 20th, Armstrong paid his last visit to the house of the Sheares: he communicated with both brothers. Henry, he states, had given him an introductory note to one of the sergeants of his regiment, who evidently knew his officer's character better than the Sheares. He feigned to be ignorant of the purport of it, and Henry Sheares had told him, Armstrong, that the man had been kept back from motives of caution, and "*he recommended him* (Armstrong) *to be cautious*, for he and his brother had escaped by their caution; and the government then thought them to be inactive." John came in; and Henry, as usual, took the first opportunity to get away from Armstrong: he went out. John said that a man (Cormick of Thomas-street) had been at the camp with a letter to Armstrong, but had returned without seeing him. This letter was found at Cormick's house, on the 20th instant, when it was searched by Sheriff Archer, and Cormick had already absconded. The letter was in the following terms:—

"To Captain Armstrong,

"Dear Sir,—I beg leave to introduce the bearer to your confidence, *on whose honour you may perfectly rely*.

"Yours, J. S."

"Connor did not come to town, as I expected, yesterday."

At the interview with the Sheares on Sunday the 20th, John Sheares told Armstrong "he had that

day called at Lawless's, and that he believed he had absconded, for he was denied to him."

On the part of the executive, he informed Armstrong, that "they had resolved to appoint him to the command of the King's County regiment." He further informed him, that on the night of the rising in Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant was to be seized, and all the privy council, separately in their own houses. That, when the privy council was seized, there would be no place to issue orders from, so as to counteract the rising; and in case of a failure of the attack on the camp, on the march of the soldiery into town, through Bagot-street, they had a *sufficient number* of houses there in their interest, to shoot them from, so as to render them useless." All this part of the conversation was represented to have taken place while Henry had been present. Captain Armstrong did not think it necessary to state, that at his Sunday's interview, he shared the hospitality of his victims; that he dined with them, sat in the company of their aged mother and affectionate sister, enjoyed the society of the accomplished wife of one of them, caressed his infant children; and on another occasion (referred to by Miss Steele) was entertained with music—the wife of the unfortunate man, whose children he was to leave in a few days fatherless, playing on the harp for his entertainment! These things are almost too horrible to reflect on.

On Hardy's trial, Erskine quoted a passage from Burke, descriptive of the mercenary informer, who is employed to pursue his victim—to dodge about his steps—to spy into his privacy—to beset his house,

and crawl about his path. By practices such as these, says Burke, "the seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse and social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torment. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be—that I vow to God that I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and get rid of the man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the gaol distemper of a contagious servitude; to keep him above ground, an animated mass of putrefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him."

If there be any part of the British dominions, where spies and informers continue to be a part of the machinery of government—where they are kept above ground, corrupted themselves, and corrupting all about them—their employers, in the nineteenth century, must be content to be accounted far behind the spirit of the age.

Armstrong, after dining with his victims on Sunday, returned to their house no more. This was the last time the cloven foot of treachery passed the threshold of the Sheares:—on the following

morning they were arrested, and committed to Kilmainham gaol. It might seem somewhat strange, that Lawless and Cormick should have discovered the necessity of absconding on the Saturday previously, and not found an opportunity of putting the Sheares on their guard. Through whatever channel Lawless was apprized of his danger, the intimation, however, appears to have been instantly acted on, and immediate flight to have been effected.

This intimation was given to him on Saturday, at the College of Surgeons, where he and Dease, the most eminent surgeon of his day, were then lecturing. Dease, who was more or less implicated with Lawless in the business, no sooner was apprized of his danger, than he returned to his house and put an end to his existence, by cutting the femoral artery. The probability is, that Lawless did not deem it prudent to return to his house on Saturday, after he was warned of his danger; therefore he might have had no possible means of apprizing the Sheares of their peril. It is plain that John Sheares, by his observation to Armstrong, believed or supposed that Lawless, who had been denied to him that day, had absconded; and it is, indeed, unaccountable, that such a circumstance should not have alarmed him and put him in some degree upon his guard. Cormick was an unlikely man to have given himself any trouble to save his associates. It is to be borne in mind, that this man was the person at whose house, when Lord Edward was concealed there, Mr. Thomas Reynolds dined, in company with his lordship, Mr. Lawless, &c.; that he was

said to have been one of Lord Edward's body-guard; that he had been in no haste to deliver the letter given to him by John Sheares, addressed to Captain Armstrong; and that he had the good fortune to escape from Dublin on the 18th or 19th of May. Subsequently, however, he was apprehended at Guernsey (on the 10th of July), and his declaration is inserted in the Appendix to the report of the secret committee, No. 32. Therein Mr. Cormick declares, "that three months before, Lord Edward had been taken to his house by Mr. Lawless, a surgeon; since which period, he had been influenced by his lordship in taking a more active part in the rebellion, by attending seditious meetings. That the United Irishmen had *a resident agent at Paris, with whom he was intimately acquainted; and he (Cormick) promised, if his pardon should be granted, to correspond with the same person, who, he was certain, would write confidentially to him.*"

Cormick was sent back to Dublin, imprisoned with the other state prisoners, and released at the same time. Dr. M'Nevin states he "met him in France, shortly after their release from Fort George; but he seemed rather inclined to shun his former associates, than to renew their acquaintance." In Dr. M'Nevin's words, "his principles were much changed."

The anxiety of the Irish government, to make Lord Edward appear as the prime mover and principal author of this rebellion, is worthy of attention. In M'Cormick's case, he is made to declare, that Lord Edward had induced him to take an active

part in this business. The day previously to the execution of Michael Byrne, that fearless young man was offered his pardon, if he would lay the guilt of his disaffection to Lord Edward's charge. "When the proposal was made known to him, he spurned at it with abhorrence." *

The journal kept by Lady Sarah Napier during her husband's indisposition, at the period of Lord Edward's concealment and subsequent apprehension, throws some light on the objects of persons, supposed to be friendly to the leaders of the United Irishmen, whose assiduous attention to families then bereft of their relatives, or destined soon to be so, were so remarkable. The journal of Lady Sarah Napier, was written with a view of keeping her husband informed of the events which he was then unable to attend to. The following extract from it is taken from Mr. Moore's history of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

"March 24th.

"Captain Armstrong came for the third time, and you saw him. From him I hear that the prisoners would come off well; that there was no committee, only some of them assembled to consider what was to be done about the 'Press;' that the report of the dreadful map found in Lord Edward's care, *with notes written by a clever gunsmith,* who had marked the weak parts, and who had sent it to Lord Edward; that no sooner had this man heard of the noise he made, than he went to government, and said 'it was his, which he had shewn to Lord Edward.' They asked him 'for what purpose he

* Vide Pieces of Irish History, page 149.

had drawn it?—' for my own amusement,' said he; so that by Armstrong's account, nothing would come of all this business."*

With respect to the clever gunsmith, it has been already stated, the person alluded to, was the late Mr. Walter Cox. With regard to *the* Captain Armstrong who gave this information, the object of his visits are plain enough. In the first place, it is to be noticed, that these friendly visits were paid subsequently to the arrests at Bond's, on the 12th of March, between that period and the 24th, about six weeks before the Sheares were singled out for the operation of the informer. On Dr. M'Nevin's authority, it may be stated, "the Sheares took no ostensible part in the business in Dublin, till after the arrests at Bond's; there was a gap then, and they filled it up. They knew Lord Edward, but were not intimately acquainted with him. They had chiefly to do with Cork."

Captain Armstrong's information to Lady Sarah Napier, that the meeting at Bond's was not that of a committee, and that the business was only about the "Press," was not only erroneous, but could not be otherwise than intentionally so, from the clear knowledge of the secrets of the Castle, exhibited in the affair of the clever gunsmith's admission concerning the treasonable document found among Lord Edward's papers.

The man who was acquainted with this matter, could not be ignorant of the fact then generally known, that the meeting at Bond's was that of a

* Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, American edition, vol. ii. p. 23.

committee, and that the subject of their deliberation was of far higher importance than anything connected with the "Press." The returns of the military deputies, of men and arms in their several districts, found on the prisoners and on the table before them, shewed plainly enough that there could be no expectation of the prisoners coming off well, and no opinion could be entertained of the business ending otherwise than fatally, for all concerned in it.

Lady Napier apparently suffered herself to be deceived with these vain hopes of security for Lord Edward. But with what object was this poor lady's feelings trifled with, and her apprehensions sought to be dispelled?—for what purpose were these thrice-repeated efforts made to remove her fears? What opinion is it possible to form of the attempts to deceive the family of the fugitive, except that they were made to obtain the confidence of his friends for the purpose of betraying their secrets to his employers.

The extraordinary openness of perfidy, and even wantoness of treachery, which marked the proceedings of an agency, however useful in its consequences, yet infamous in its character, has perhaps been equalled in other countries, in the phrenzy of civil strife; but it certainly never was surpassed.

Other informers, however, when they have once wormed themselves into the confidence of their victims, and have possessed themselves sufficiently of their secrets to bring them to the scaffold, rest from their labours, and spare themselves the unnecessary annoyance, perhaps a feeling of remorse, at beholding

the unfortunate wretches they have deceived, when they are fairly in their toils and delivered over to the proper authorities. In Ireland, there is no such squeamishness in the breasts of our informers. No sooner was the younger Sheares safely lodged in the Castle guard-room, than he received a visit of condolence from Captain Armstrong, on the very morning of his arrest. He was asked by the prisoner, if his brother was taken? and Captain Armstrong answered: "*I do not know.*" The unfortunate young man then asked him, if *his* papers had been seized? Captain Armstrong replied: "*I do not know.*" John Sheares then said, he hoped not, for there was one paper among them that "would *commit him*" (John Sheares). The latter words were deserving of more attention on the trial, than unfortunately for his brother, was paid to them; for it plainly shewed the paper to have been in his possession, and not his brother's; and his own impression to have been, that he, John Sheares, only could be injured by its discovery.

His opening his mind at all on the subject, proves that when he made these enquiries, he had no suspicion that he had been betrayed by Armstrong.

The same strong delusion continued to screen Reynold's treachery from the generous mind of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He continued to receive the visits of the informer, after the arrest of his associates, and his poor lady was not even exempt from the infliction of his presence. This mode of recreating his feelings, for these visits were not essential to

the objects of his employers, was a customary indulgence.

The day before the arrests at Bond's, one of the persons apprehended there, and shortly after convicted on Reynold's testimony, and executed—the unfortunate M'Cann—breakfasted by special invitation with Mr. Reynolds; and a few days subsequently to those arrests, we find the politeness of Mr. Reynolds carrying him even to the house where these arrests took place, to pay a visit of condolence to the wife of Bond, who in the course of a few days was likewise condemned to death on his testimony.

The capture of Lord Edward Fitzgerald has been made the subject of an effective picture by Herbert; but the scene at Bond's, of Reynolds condoling with his victim's wife—the fondling his infant child in his arms—could only be depicted by that Italian artist, who is said to have caught the agonies of death from one he had persuaded to sit to him as a model, and then practised on his life at the moment of fixing his position, for the sake of catching the real expression of mortal suffering.

On Monday, the 21st of May, Captain Armstrong having completed his task the previous evening, at the house of the Sheares, a warrant for their apprehension was placed in the hands of a police magistrate, Alderman Alexander, and at eight o'clock in the morning this gentleman proceeded to their house in Baggot-street, accompanied by Mr. Atkinson, one of the chief constables, and a guard of soldiers. The house being at the corner of Pem-

broke-street, and accessible at the rear by a private entrance in the latter street, the soldiers were first stationed in Pembroke-street. Mr. Atkinson rapped at the front door; one of the upper windows was opened, and a female was seen looking out of the window. Alderman Alexander then came round to the front door, and another rap was given. He then proceeded to an adjoining house, and gained admission into the house of the Sheares by the back premises, and placed soldiers in the yard; the remainder of the force was ordered to the front entrance. Alexander entered the library, and Henry Sheares made his appearance. He was immediately apprized of the nature of Alexander's visit, and was told by that gentleman—"It was his duty to examine all his papers." Henry Sheares replied, *"He might do so; for he had no papers in his study or house that could injure him in any manner or shape."* This account of the arrest is taken from the evidence of Alderman Alexander, on the trial. That gentleman states he had been at the door three or four minutes before he was admitted; and in that time he (Henry Sheares) might have destroyed or secreted any paper, but could not have escaped, "because he had a guard at the front and rear of the house." The arrest was made in the study, where "there were many law books." There was a small writing-box unlocked, lying on the table; it was examined by Alexander, and a paper (the proclamation, in John Sheares' hand-writing) was found there by him: on its discovery, the prisoner betrayed no symptom of

guilt, or seemed to be in the least alarmed by its discovery.

With respect to this paper, it must be observed that the friends of the Sheares state, the box in which it was found had not attracted the attention of Alderman Alexander, who had been previously employed in examining papers found in other places in the study, till Henry directed his attention to the writing-box of his brother, which lay on the table, making the observation above mentioned, about his having no papers which could be injurious to him.

The house was then searched for John, but he was not found there. Henry Sheares was conveyed to the Castle, and from thence committed to Kilmainham.

The persons left in that house, were the aged mother, the wife, the sister, and infant children of the ill-fated man, who had just been taken from his house never more to return to it.

The events of that morning had brought such calamity on its inmates, that, perhaps, there was but one man living who could have contemplated their wretchedness without a feeling of commiseration.

In the forenoon of the same day Henry Sheares was arrested, Major Sirr, accompanied by a "gentleman," went to the house of Surgeon Lawless, of French-street, with a warrant for the apprehension of John Sheares and Lawless. While he was employed in searching the house, a person rapped at the door, and Sirr's associate opening the door, John Sheares entered, and at once found himself in the presence of Major Sirr. The Major told him "he was his pri-

soner;" he made no resistance—"shewed no symptoms of uneasiness when apprehended, or reluctance at going with him."

Sirr, after searching the room in which they were, "asked the prisoner for his papers;" and the Major says, "to the best of my recollection he handed them to me." He had previously sworn he had searched the prisoner, and found a particular paper on his person. While he was searching the room, "his eye was not upon him; he might have torn the paper unknown to him; but he had desired the person who was with him to watch the prisoner."

The paper was a detailed account of the effective strength of the Union, in six districts in the vicinity of Dublin, amounting to 8,100 men.

A man in the circumstances of John Sheares, with such a paper in his possession, might well have been startled at the sight of the well-known major, on entering the house of one of his associates, but he shewed no alarm; and the major's presence was certainly sufficient to inspire anything but a feeling of ease or self-possession, in this time of terror.

He was taken to the Castle, visited in the guard-room by the informer, who seemed reluctant to the last to relinquish the mask of friendship, and the visit was productive of no evidence but that which shewed the prisoner's only anxiety to be for the fate of a beloved brother. In a few hours he was lodged in the same gaol with the latter.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 4th July 1798, Henry and John Sheares, were arraigned on an indictment found against them for high treason, before Lord Carleton, chief justice of the court of common pleas, and Judges Crookshank, George, Day, and Michael Smith. The attorney-general was the Right Honourable Arthur Wolfe, the solicitor-general John Toler, and the other counsel for the crown, Mr. Prime-Sergeant Fitzgerald and Messrs. Saurin, O'Grady, Mayne, Webber, and Ridgway; the counsel for Henry Sheares, Mr. Curran and Mr. William Conyngham Plunkett; the counsel for John Sheares, Messrs. Curran and M'Mally, and assistant counsel, Messrs. Orr and Finlay. An objection was taken to the finding of the bill of indictment of the grand jury, on the ground that one of the jury was an alien, born in the kingdom of France, and therefore disqualified to hold any office of trust, civil or military, in this kingdom, by the statutes 9 & 20, George III.; it was argued, that the office of juryman came within the meaning of the statute, and consequently that all the proceedings found on that indictment, were

informal and invalid. The counsel for the crown contended, that by the 14 and 15 of Charles II. chapter 23, for the encouragement of foreigners of the protestant religion, settling as colonists in Ireland, aliens having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and being of the protestant religion, were to be reputed as lieges, free and natural subjects of His Majesty's kingdom in all respects, to all intents, construction and purposes, as if they had been born within the kingdom of Ireland. The court overruled the objection. Affidavits were then put in on the part of the prisoners, stating that material witnesses, without the benefit of whose testimony the prisoners could not go to trial, were to be summoned from distant parts of the kingdom, and a postponement of their trials, was prayed for on these grounds. The witnesses named by John Sheares, were, Sir Joseph Hoare, Sir Richard Kellet, Sir Patrick O'Connor, Rev. Mr. Lee, Rev. Mr. Stowell, Mr. Therry and Edward Hoare, Esq. and the Earl of Cork and Orrery. Some of these gentlemen were the intimate friends of the father of the prisoners. The Rev. Mr. Lee was the tutor of the younger prisoner. The solicitor-general, Toler, urgently opposed the application for postponement, "as the public," he said "were waiting the event of it with anxious expectation, and though he would not wish to accelerate it, yet he felt the disposal of it, was of great importance." Lord Carleton, however, had the humanity to accede to the application, and the eagerness of the Jeffries of Ireland, for the vengeance of the law, was not gratified immediately.

The trial was postponed till the 12th of July following. On that day the trial came on, before Lord Carleton and Mr. Justice Crookshank and Smith. At the desire of John Sheares, Mr. Ponsonby was assigned one of his counsel in the room of Mr. Curran, in order that both prisoners should have four counsel between them. But a very important change had taken place, in the interim between the arraignment of the prisoners, on the 4th of July, and their trial on the 12th. The humane, the virtuous, and the good Arthur Wolfe, subsequently Lord Kilmarden, was elevated to the bench, in order to secure the services of a prosecutor of "the right sort," in a case where justice was to be rigorously administered and promptly executed. The personal injuries done to Fitzgibbon, were now to be expiated along with the capital offences committed against the state. Toler, as attorney-general, realized the expectations of his patron and protector. His speech was one of the most rancorous, and so far as concerned Henry Sheares, one of the most unjustifiable speeches that ever was pronounced by a public prosecutor. Not only facts were distorted, circumstances favourable to the prisoner were suppressed, but statements were boldly made, utterly at variance with the evidence he had to adduce on the part of the prosecution. I do not allude to the cruelty and injustice of suppressing a most important part of the proclamation found in the house of Henry Sheares, and attributed to the younger brother, because that document and the others found in the house of the Sheares, it is to be presumed, having been first placed

in the hands of the Privy Council, the selection of such portions of them as were considered fit to be acted on, rested with the highest legal functionary of the crown, and the act of giving that part only of the document in question that was fatal to the prisoners, to be used in evidence against them, there is but too much reason to believe, was the act of Lord Clare. The personal interest that his lordship took in the conviction of the prisoners, was not only manifested in the appointment of Toler to the office of attorney-general, but in the procuration of evidence to prove the handwriting of the prisoners. The witness for this important object was his own official servant, his secretary, Mr. Dwyer, a gentleman intimately acquainted by professional intercourse with both the Sheares, evidently reluctant to appear against them, and honest enough to bear the highest testimony to their characters as men of honour and integrity. The jury was composed of men of high respectability, and compared with the ordinary juries of this frightful period, was one that the prisoners might have thought an honest and impartial one. The names of the jurors were: Sir Thomas Lighton, Robert Shaw, Price Blackwood, John Stewart, George Palmer, Henry Woodward, Richard Sayers, John Farrange, Cornelius Gautier, William Sparrow, Charles Bingham, and John Ferns. Some of them were intimate friends of Curran; the last-named gentleman, one of his convivial associates. It was to this intimacy that Curran alluded at the commencement of his speech, when in referring to the atrocious statement of the attorney-general, that the

public mind required to be appeased, by the speedy disposal of this case, when he addressed these words to the jury: "Have you come abroad under the idea that public fury is clamourous for blood? That you have been put there under a mere formality for legalizing death, and ought to gratify that fury with the blood for which it seems to thirst? If you have——but I have known some of you—more than one, or two, or three, in some of those situations where the human heart speaks its honest sentiments. I think I ought to know you well—you ought to know me—and there are some of you who ought to listen to what even I may say, not altogether without some degree of personal confidence and respect." The attorney-general, in stating the case for the crown, took no trouble to conceal the feelings under which he laboured, with respect to the danger which he imagined had menaced himself as one of the persons supposed to be included in the proscriptive terms of the proclamation: "I thank God," said Mr. Toler, "that I live to address this venerable bench and that upright jury. Whether it was likely I should have done so under all the circumstances, if such calumniators governed the country, you will have little room for conjecture." * The peculiar talent of Toler for fulsome adulation of judges and juries, is well known; it sometimes degenerated into a momentary taste for complimenting the unhappy culprits, on whom he was about to pass the awful sentence of the law. In this case, he reversed the practise. He commenced his speech, by de-

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 1.

scribing the prisoners as "gentlemen of that profession to which he belonged, and to which he was bound by every tie of affection, regard, and gratitude, that can bind a man of honourable feelings." A little further he designates them "as men of considerable talents and learning in the law;" And in a subsequent sentence, he says: "the prisoners were not persons such as had been seen too frequently on the circuits which they had attended as barristers; men of a low rank in life, unlettered, unacquainted with the excellence of the law under which they lived; nor where they men, whose ignorance, at the same time that it exposed them to being made the wretched instruments of seduction, rendered them rather objects of pity than punishment. No! the gentlemen of the jury would find, in the course of the trial, that the prisoners were no strangers to literary pursuits, or to the exercise of talents." He then proceeded to preface his vituperation against the prisoners, with a declaration of the pain enforced on him by his duty as a public prosecutor on such an occasion. He said: "There was not a man who knew him in private life, that did not know it weighed heavily upon him." There was not a man living acquainted with the character of the learned gentleman, who knew that a feeling of compunction in the discharge of any duty, however awful, ever weighed one jot on his mind.

"But mistaken lenity," added Mr. Toler, "to atrocious delinquents, is at all times 'crudelis misericordia' with respect to the public."—"A banditti of men associated under the denomination of United

Irishmen," he goes on to state, "imported French principles, and improved on them: the pen and tongue of every revolutionary ruffian were put in requisition, those principles and doctrines which approached us like plague, pestilence, and famine, and were the dreadful presagers and forerunners of battle, murder, and sudden death."* He says, "it would be illiberal to overbear men in the situation of the prisoners with the language of insult:" and he then proceeds to denominate them assassins and cowards as well as traitors. In alluding to the paper written by John Sheares, he asks, "who can read the bloody scroll, and not pronounce upon the intentions and imagination of the heart which composed it?—and whilst he thus beheld it, he thought he had in full and palpable form before him, the sanguinary author penning it, with his bloody dagger in one hand, and pointing in triumph to the revolutionary tribunal and guillotine with the other. I admire the wisdom of the laws of those countries, which put *traitors and cowards* in the same class as public criminals; and I am free to say, that the man who is a traitor or coward enough, not to take that unequivocal part which becomes him at such a time as this, deserves the severest punishment, and the execration of his country." With this observation, and a remark that there was not a single line of the paper in question, the effect of which was not

"But to teach
Bloody instruction, which, being taught, returns
To plague the inventor:"

* Ridgeway's Report, Trial of the Sheares, p. 51.

—with these words, he committed the case of the prisoners to God and their country, without being able so far to preserve the common decency of his office as crown prosecutor, as to conclude his laborious effort to establish the guilt of the prisoners, with the ordinary form of recommendation to the jury, of giving the accused the benefit of any doubt that might be favourable to them in the evidence adduced against them." The gross and wilful perversion of truth, on the part of a prosecutor in a case where the issue involves the question of life or death, would now, at least in England, be visited with the universal execration of the members of the legal profession of all parties. This wicked perversion of truth and justice occurred on the trial of the Sheares, on the part of the public prosecutor, in his statement of that part of the case which related to the possession of the document—the authorship of which was clearly proved to be that of John Sheares. This paper, though unpublished, was made one of the principal overt acts, laid in the indictment against both the brothers. It was found in the house inhabited by both the prisoners; it was proved to be in the handwriting of John Sheares; it was found in his writing-box; he was not present when the attention of the police magistrate was directed to it; and Henry Sheares declared he was at liberty to examine every paper, *for there was not one that could in any shape or manner injure him.* The fact was, that Henry Sheares was utterly ignorant of the existence of that paper.

John Sheares informed his friend and relative,

Mr. Flemming, after his conviction, that on the night preceding his arrest, after Henry and his family had gone to bed, he sat up till a late hour writing; and amongst other papers, had written that one which was called the "Proclamation," and that his brother Henry had no knowledge whatever of it.

One of the first questions that John Sheares put to Armstrong at the Castle guard-room, a few hours after his arrest, was to know if *his* papers "*had been seized, for there was one which would commit him.*" The police magistrate, who made the search and seizure at the prisoner's house, being asked on the trial, if any attempt had been made by Henry Sheares to secrete any paper, replied, "None whatever." He was asked if, during the time he was endeavouring to gain admittance into the house, "Mr. Henry Sheares might have secreted or destroyed any paper in that time?" The answer was, "He might." And to the further question, "If Henry Sheares, when that paper was found, betrayed any symptoms of guilt, as if alarmed by it?" the answer was, "He did not." Henry Sheares, previous to the judge delivering his charge, requested permission to say a few words respecting that paper, "*which appeared to him not to have been sufficiently dwelt upon;*" he said, "I protest, most solemnly, my lord, I knew nothing of it; to know it, and leave it where it was when the magistrate came, is a folly so glaring that I cannot be supposed to have been guilty of it." Lord Carleton, in his charge, said that it did not appear in evidence whose property that writing-box was (in which the paper was found open and un-

locked), or to which of the prisoners the house belonged. John Sheares, interrupting his lordship, said, "I beg your lordship's pardon, it was in my writing-box that paper was found." * I have stated, and am aware, re-stated some parts of the evidence on this point, in order to shew the facts, in the face of which the attorney-general declared, not once but repeatedly, and with all the apparent positiveness of unquestionable proof, that the proclamation in the hand-writing of John Sheares, was "*found on and in the possession of Henry Sheares.*" In his opening speech he said, "Gentlemen, two kinds of evidence will be laid before you—parole and written. The latter will be of very considerable weight; and being in the handwriting of one of the prisoners, and found *in the chamber* and possession of the other, it will go to a participation with them both."† In another part of his speech he says, "I come now, gentlemen, to a piece of written evidence, to which I am to call your particular attention; and you will see by this document to which I have alluded, as being in the handwriting of one of the prisoners, and found on the other." He further states, that when Alderman Alexander searched the house, and perceived the writing-box in which the proclamation was found, "he asked to whom it belonged? Mr. Henry Sheares acknowledged it to be his."† Will it be believed, that Alderman Alexander denied this assertion on his oath, when he was examined by the crown prosecutor on this point?

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 63.

† Ibid, p. 60.

and was asked, "Did you speak to him (Henry Sheares) about the desk or the paper?" His reply was, "I had no conversation with him about the desk or the paper."* "He says that Mr. Alexander did not proceed there (to the house of the Sheares) with ruffianly violence or a display of the instruments of death;" and yet the evidence of the police magistrate directly contradicts this statement —one file of soldiers was posted in the front of the house, another in the rear; and when Mr. Alexander entered the house through an adjoining one, and got into the back premises, a file of soldiers was posted as a guard on the steps of the hall-door. I am informed by Miss Steele, and likewise by her sister, that from one of the back windows of their house, in Merrion-square, on the south side, there being then a vacant space nearly opposite to Pembroke Street, in Baggot Street, they perceived the steps of the hall-door of the Sheares' house thronged with soldiers, and saw Henry Sheares led down the steps as they were taking him to the Castle.

The commotion in the neighbourhood occasioned by the military surrounding the house, had soon spread over the neighbourhood, and the cause of their appearance there, could be a matter of little doubt to those who were acquainted with the unfortunate persons of whom they were in search.

What the feelings of one of the ladies I have referred to, must have been at the sight of the guard, it is not difficult to conceive.

The conduct of the attorney-general Toler, as a

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 87.

crown prosecutor, in making statements against a prisoner, not only which he had no evidence to substantiate, but which were in direct opposition to the testimony of the witnesses for the crown, it is devoutly to be hoped—and from the humanizing influence of religion and civilization on men of all parties, it is fully to be expected—will never be found worthy of imitation. There can be no doubt that, were it not for the pains taken to fix on Henry Sheares a guilty knowledge of this paper, his life would have been preserved.

There was nothing in the evidence of Armstrong against him, to prove that he had taken any active part in the plans of the United Irishmen; certainly, no part, on so extended a scale, or for so long a period, as in the case of the other state prisoners, and especially the members of the former directory, who were already in treaty with the government for their pardon, and that of their associates, on the condition of making a full confession of their acts; and these acts, by their own acknowledgment, went to the length of forwarding their views by the intervention of assistance from France, while the efforts of the new directory were confined to what they called a home exertion; and French invasion formed no part of their project. In fact, there could have been no reason given for the capital punishment of either of the Sheares, while mercy was to be extended to Bond, Neilson, O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin, and the other prisoners; and with respect to one of the Sheares, it is evident there was not a shadow of proof of any knowledge (on his part) of the existence

of that culpable paper, except that it was found in a house which was inhabited by him, as well as the brother who was the author of it. It certainly was a very unfortunate determination for Henry Sheares, that a separate trial was not resolved on by his counsel. The attorney-general, at the opening of the proceedings, stated his intention to go on with the trial of the younger brother, and thereupon a precept was directed to the sheriff, to return his panel for that case first. But the counsel, on conferring with the prisoners, stated it was their wish to join in their challenges, and both the prisoners were then put on their trial. The same unchanged and unchangeable affection which so intimately bound one brother to another, was injudiciously allowed in this instance, it seems to me, to operate fatally against one of them.

It is impossible to reconcile the rigour with which they were pursued, with the mercy that was extended towards those who were the prime movers in the rebellion, who were known to have long been at the head of its affairs—to have been in active communication with a foreign government—and to have made various applications for foreign aid; when these persons, already looking on the affairs of their society as irretrievably ruined, had entered into negociations with the government previously to the trial of the Sheares, and indeed, when there was not the slightest prospect of success, it is difficult to understand the necessity of putting the law into its fullest force against the subordinate agents, and in point of time, the comparatively powerless leaders of its forlorn hope, and

it is impossible to account for the extreme severity with which their offences were visited, except on the grounds of the implacable animosity which the impression of the unwise and reprehensible menaces in the letter addressed to the "Author of Coercion," and former causes of irritation, had left on the mind of their bitter enemy Lord Clare.

There is an instance of the influence of a similar cause of apprehension and of vindictiveness, in the fate of two brothers devoted to one another through life, recorded in "Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," which, if we were only to change the names of Commodus to Clare, and of the Quintilians to Sheares, would give us a very graphic delineation of the remarkable attachment of the latter to one another, and the enmity which proved fatal to them.

The Emperor Commodus, we are told by Gibbon,* was attacked by an assassin with a drawn sword, who loudly exclaimed, "The senate sends you this!" The menace prevented the deed. The man who made the attempt was seized, and he confessed that he had been set on by members of the senate. "The words of the assassin sunk deep in the mind of Commodus, and left an indelible impression of fear and hatred on his mind, against the whole body of the senate."

As opportunity served, he removed his enemies, and "having once tasted human blood, he became incapable of pity or remorse. "Of these innocent victims," says Gibbon, "none died more lamented than

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 113.

the two brothers of the Quintilian family, Maximus and Condianus, whose fraternal love has saved their names from oblivion, and endeared their memory to posterity. Their studies and their occupations, their pursuits and their pleasures, were still the same. In the enjoyment of a good estate, they never admitted the idea of a separate interest. Some fragments of a treatise are now extant, which they composed in common, and in every action of life it was observed, that their two bodies were animated by one soul."

* * * * "The kind cruelty of Commodus, united them in death."

CHAPTER IX.

In the case of the Sheares, the evidence of the witness Captain Armstrong, was that on which the acts set forth in the indictment were sustained. In the interim between the apprehension of the prisoners and their trial, the valuable life of this gentleman was placed in imminent peril. His anxiety for active service did not permit him to remain in inactivity, he was not allowed to join his own regiment, which was then employed at some distance from the capital. But notwithstanding the prohibition was from Lord Castlereagh, Captain Armstrong was so ambitious of sharing in the military glory of his companions in arms in the neighbouring counties of Wicklow, Kildare and Wexford, that he volunteered his services and obtained the command of the grenadier company of the Londonderry Militia. At the unfortunate battle at the Slievebuy Mountain, where Colonel Walpole was killed and his party discomfitted, one of the few who escaped with life, was Captain Armstrong. It is generally admitted, that the ignorance, temerity and inability, exhibited in

the command and employment of this force, occasioned its discomfiture. Armstrong was wounded in the engagement on the 4th of June, a fortnight after his last interview with the Sheares, and six weeks previously to their trial. His wound, however, did not abate his zeal. On the trial, his own cousin Mr. Thomas Draught, deposed that Armstrong, in speaking of the engagement and the numbers killed, said to him, "they had caught two or three (peasants) at a distance; that one was hanged for refusing to give information, another I believe was suspended, and Captain Armstrong said he cut him down; but one was hanged outright, and we both agreed it was not a good way to make him confess. That on his suggestion, the fellow that was suspended, or had the rope round his neck, I am not sure which, was ordered twenty-five lashes; and when he received eight, he cried out with vociferation, that he would give information; that he then led them on, and said the person who was hanged could have given the same information, though he suffered himself to be hanged. I asked how he could possibly reconcile it to himself, to deprive those wretches of life, without even the form of a trial. He acknowledged they did so. I asked him, whether he expected any punishment for it, and although he might not expect it from government, yet that there was an All-powerful Being, who would punish him; he said, you know my opinion long ago upon the subject." * The witness further deposed, that he had known Armstrong from his

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 129.

infancy. He had frequently heard him utter atheistical expressions;" he spoke of the state of the soul after death, "as an eternal sleep, and told witness "he had left the Somersetshire Militia, on account of his democratic principles." Armstrong's own version of his exploit on the unfortunate countrymen, is given in the coolest terms of self-approval in his cross-examination by Mr. Curran. He said, with respect to the three countrymen they had taken, "*One was to be hanged, another was to be flogged. We were going up Blackmore-hill, under Sir James Duff; there was a party of rebels there; we met three men with green cockades. One we shot, another we hanged, and the third we flogged and made a guide of.*"*

Mr. Curran asked the witness, "Which did you make the guide of?" Captain Armstrong jocularly replied "The one that was neither shot or hanged."

Lieut. Shervington of the 41st regiment, deposed that "he was nephew by marriage, of Captain Armstrong, and had known him since his childhood. When in Lord Cork's regiment in England, had conversations with him. Did not think his principles exactly such as a military man's should be. Had a conversation with him at his agent's, Mr. Mulholland; talked of various things, the French Revolution, and he said he did not wish for kingly government. *He said, that if there was not another executioner in the kingdom for George III. but himself, he would be one, and pique himself upon being so. I told him he was a d——d fellow and ought to give up his commission,*

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 80.

and leave the army, and go over to France." * He had met him at Byrnes, the bookseller's, in Grafton Street; he handed him a book, saying, "Read this, it is my creed;" he (the witness) found it was Paine's "Rights of Man," he thrust it into the fire, and said, he (Captain Armstrong,) should be served so." The witness further deposed, that he did not know the Messrs. Sheares, and never had seen them until that day. That he would not have come forward to give evidence on this trial, but had been summoned, "and would not have appeared for 100 guineas." That on meeting with Captain Clibborn, he had said, "he was sorry to hear that John Armstrong was finding out the secrets of men, in order to discover them, and being told it was a different thing, that the Sheares wanted to seduce the soldiers, he had said, 'D——n him, he should have run them through the body.' Mr. Bride, a barrister, deposed to his having been acquainted with Armstrong; recollected having been, within the last six or eight months, in company with him, at the chambers of a Mr. Brown, in college, and heard him (Armstrong) express an opinion, "slighting the obligation of an oath." Mr. Graydon, a barrister, deposed that he had known Armstrong, had frequently heard him express republican opinions "in a very violent and unqualified manner." "He uniformly expressed opinions of that kind." Such were the sentiments on religious and political subjects, imputed to this witness by his most intimate friends and relatives, by his uncle by marriage, and his cousin. In the words addressed to the jury, by

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 120.

Mr. Ponsonby, (one of the counsel for the prisoners,) in reference to this witness, I would observe, but particularly to the English reader—"I know not how you will be inclined to appreciate the conduct of a man, who gets into the confidence of another for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of matters he could not otherwise obtain, and makes use of that knowledge against the life of the person from whom he obtained it!—and yet, if we believe him, he did this. I pass no opinion on such conduct—I leave that for you to do; but this I will say, that if I were a juryman, I would not be quick to convict upon the evidence of a man, who acknowledged that he became the friend of another, for the purpose of betraying the friendship and taking away the life of that friend."* And, with this advocate, I would ask, in a country where the testimony of only one man is necessary—was this witness the one upon whose sole testimony a conviction was to be desired? Mr. Curran, in alluding to his testimony, said—"The verdict is to be founded on sworn testimony, on the oath of a witness—founded upon this ground, and this alone—that he does believe there is an eternal God—an intelligent, supreme, and self-existent Being, capable of inflicting eternal punishment for offences, or conferring eternal compensation upon man, after he has passed the boundary of the grave. But where the witness believes he is possessed of a perishing soul, and there is nothing upon which punishment or reward can be exerted, he proceeds, regardless of the number of his offences, and undis-

* Ridgeway's Report of the Sheares' Trial, p. 107.

turbed by the terrors of remorse, which might save a jury from the fear that their verdict might be founded upon perjury. I suppose, he imagines that the body is actuated or moved by some kind of animal machinery. I know not in what language to describe his notions. If we suppose his opinion of the beautiful system framed by the Almighty hand to be, that it is all folly and blindness, compared to the manner in which he considers himself to have been created, or his abominable heart conceives its ideas of creation, or his tongue communicates his notions of it;—if we suppose him, I say, to think so, what is perjury to him! He needs no creed, if he thinks his miserable body can take refuge in the grave, and the last puff of his nostrils can send his soul into annihilation! He laughs at the idea of Eternal Justice, and tells you that the grave, into which he sinks as a mere log, forms an intrenchment against the throne of God, and the vengeance of exasperated justice. Do you not feel, my countrymen, a sort of anticipated consolation in reflecting, that the religion which gave us comfort in our early days—which enabled us to sustain the stroke of affliction, and endeared us to one another—and, when we see our friends sinking into the earth, fills us with the expectation that we shall rise again,—that we but sleep for awhile, to wake for ever? But what kind of communion can you hold—what interchange expect—what confidence repose—in the abject slave? that condemned, despaired-of wretch, who acts under the idea that he is only the folly of a moment; that he cannot step beyond the threshold

of the grave; that the event, which is one of awful moment to the best—yet of hope to the confiding soul—is to him a matter of contempt or of despair?" "By the law of this country, if the witness does not believe in God or a future state, you cannot swear him. What could you swear him upon? Is it upon the Book—or the leaf? You might as well swear him on bramble, or a coin? The ceremony of kissing is only an external symbol, by which man seals himself to the observance of the precept, and says—May God so help me as I swear the truth! His dependence on the divine mercy is, then, attached to the condition of telling truth, and he expects that mercy from Heaven, as he performs his undertaking. But the infidel! by what can you catch his soul, or by what obligation can you hold it? You repel his testimony—for he has no conscience, no hope to cheer, no punishment to intimidate him." * * * "You know the world too well, not to be aware that every falsehood is reduced to a certain degree of malleability by an alloy of truth: such statements as these stories (of the witness) are not pure and simple falsehoods. Look at those of your Oates, your Beddoes, and Dugdales, for the proof. I am led to believe, shocking as it is to do so, that this witness had the heart, when he was surrounded by the little progeny of my client—when he was sitting in the mansion in which he was hospitably entertained—when he saw the old mother, supported by the piety of her son, and the children basking in the parental fondness of the father,—to

* Ridgeway's Report of the Sheares' Trial, p. 154.

smile upon this scene, contemplating the havoc he was about to make, the children he was about to consign to the storms of a miserable world, without having an anchorage left them in the kindness of a father! Can such things be, and not waken the vengeance of an eternal God? But, forsooth, it cannot reach this man beyond the grave. Therefore, I uphold him here. I can imagine, Gentlemen, such a belief, because, when the mind becomes destitute of principles of morality and religion, all within the miserable being is left a dark and dreary void, never cheered by the rays of tenderness and humanity. When the belief of eternal justice is gone from the soul of man, horrors of every kind may set up their abode there." *

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this revolting subject; I take leave of it with a feeling, that it is a relief to get rid of the consideration of this man's character and conduct. Now, let us turn to the testimony of the witnesses, with respect to the character of the prisoners:—this evidence is not confined to that given in their favour by their own witnesses—it is given by those, even, brought forward on the part of the crown prosecutor. The chancellor's secretary, Mr. John Dwyer, who proved the hand-writing of the prisoners, deposed "that he had a great deal of professional intercourse with the elder brother, and some with the younger brother. He had never met men, in dealing, who appeared to him to have more integrity. They were considered by him to be men of honour and integrity."

* Ridgeway's Report of the Trial of the Sheares, p. 154.

—" He had always considered them as honourable men."

" Mr. Boardman, a barrister, deposed that he had known the brothers for seven or eight years. So far as he could collect their political principles from any conversation he had had with them, he thought them anxious to bring about a parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation. They went no farther, as well as he could recollect. Three months before, he had met Mr. John Sheares in company, and he had expressed sentiments of similar import." Mr. John Sheares, interrupting the witness, said, " I wish to remind Mr. Boardman whether I did not regret that reform had not taken place, as the best mode to prevent revolution, which would take place if not prevented by reform." Mr. Boardman replied, " I do not recollect that Mr. Sheares made use of expressions to that effect." Mr. Edward Hoare deposed, that " he had known Henry and John Sheares a great many years, and their father before them. Their political opinions went very much as to men and measures." Mr. C. St. Leger, a barrister—" Had known the brothers since he was six years old; John Sheares had been his schoolfellow; during the whole of their acquaintance, his opinion as to their general character was, that " it was the very best that he could conceive any men to possess."

The evidence of Mr. Thomas Casey, a barrister, deserves particular attention, and the sentiments expressed in the latter part of it, the highest praise. He deposed that, " he had been long acquainted with both brothers—and most particularly with John.

Their general moral character was as good and as high as that of any men he had ever known. With regard to Mr. John Sheares, he had lived with him a long time, and during that time, he never had an occasion to do otherwise than admire, esteem, and respect him, and that was for a period of eighteen months, during which they lived together." He was asked, if he considered the Sheares were men who were likely to encourage murder and bloodshed? He replied, "With regard to Mr. Henry Sheares, I do not conceive it possible; with regard to Mr. John Sheares, if it be possible, I do conceive there must have been as great a revolution in his mind, as any that ever took place upon the face of the earth. And I do recollect, about two years ago, or upwards, that I did hear John Sheares, in as warm a manner as I ever heard him speak truth to me upon any occasion, say that he would be the first to take arms against a foreign enemy, and the last to lay them down." Being asked by the Counsel for the Crown, if "he did not confine what he had said to their moral character?" The witness replied, "I mean it to the full extent of what I have said. I speak of their moral character, and to their political also, as far forth as my words can reach. At the assizes of Cork, we had some conversation; John Sheares and myself talked about the politics of the day, upon which we differed. He spoke with confidence to me, as two men intimately acquainted might do in conversation, and the opinions he expressed were against a revolution and a foreign enemy." The counsel for the crown asked the witness if the conversation

would not have terminated, had Mr. Sheares intimated a contrary opinion? The following noble reply was made by Counsellor Casey: "*I do not know that it would, for I should have endeavoured to persuade him to be of my opinion, which is full and entirely contrarient. I would not give him up while I had a hope of him, nor till I had a solid reason for the contrary (opinion).*" Honour to the man who had the manliness, the humanity, the nobility of mind to speak these words! These were times when every man who dared to come forward in defence of the unfortunate persons accused of treason, was sure to be taunted by the crown prosecutors with a participation in the views and objects of the accused, and every effort was resorted to by the subordinate agents of government, to deter men from coming forward to give evidence in favour of those who were obnoxious to the dominant faction of that day. The effort to browbeat this honest man was contemptously repelled; and his last declaration of what he considered a man's duty to his friend, when he had fallen into error, deserves to be remembered with feelings of gratitude, respect and honour.

The reader will not fail to bear in mind, the opinion expressed in cases of the duty that friendship claims, when he recalls Sir Jonah Barrington's sentiments on this subject, as shewn in his conduct on the occasion of his meeting with the Sheares, in the company of Bagenal B. Harvey, at Wexford.

It was past midnight when the examination of the witnesses closed. The trial had already occupied fifteen hours, when Mr. Curran, like every one

around him, judge, jury, and advocates, exhausted with fatigue, applied to the court at the close of the case, for "a few hours interval of repose, or rather for recollection."

The attorney-general, the sanguinary Toler, opposed the delay, and the trial proceeded at that unseasonable hour.

Mr. Curran being informed that much had already been conceded to him, the insult was felt, and his indignation was never couched in eloquence more impressive than on this occasion. "It seems," said Mr. Curran, "that 'much has been conceded' to us. God help us! I do not know what has been 'conceded' to me, if one of so little importance may have extorted the remark. Perhaps, it is a 'concession' that I am permitted to rise in such a state of mind and body, of collapse and deprivation of energy, as to feel but a small spark of indignation raised by the remark that 'much has been conceded' to the counsel for the prisoners—'much has been conceded' to the prisoners! Almighty and merciful God, who lookest down upon us, what times are these to which we are reserved! when we are told that 'much has been conceded' to men, who are put upon their trial at a moment like this—of more darkness and night of the human intellect, than a darkness of the natural period of twenty-four hours; that public convenience cannot afford the brief respite of a few hours, to those who are accused of offences touching their lives, and that 'much has been conceded' to the advocate, whose strength is already exhausted in the mere observation he has endeavoured to make upon it! My country-

men, I do pray you, by the awful duty which you owe your country—by that sacred one you owe your characters (and I know you feel it)—I do attest you by the Almighty God, to have mercy upon my client —to save him, not from guilt, but from the baseness of his accusers, and the pressure of the treatment under which I am sinking! With what spirit did you leave your homes this day? In what state of mind and heart did you come here from your families? With what sentiment, did you leave your children, to perform an act of great public moment—to pledge yourselves at the throne of eternal justice, by the awful and solemn obligations of an oath, to do perfect, cool, impartial, and steady justice, between the accuser and the accused." *

No less solemn, earnest, and truly eloquent, was the exordium of this most able and impressive address. Praying that the spirit of British law and British liberty might extend their influence to the tribunals of that unhappy country, he said—"Will you say their example has no weight with you, though stamped with the authority of a great and exalted nation—the only European nation where liberty hath taken up her abode? Do not imagine that the man who praises liberty, is singing an idle song!—for a moment it may be the song of a bird in his cage, I know it may be so—but not for ever. You are now standing upon an awful isthmus—a little neck of land where Liberty has found a seat. Look about you. Look at the state of the country—the tribunals that a dire necessity has introduced. Look

* Ridgeway's Report of the Sheares' Trial, p. 144.

at this dawn of law, still admitting the functions of a jury. I feel a comfort in the reflection of its existence. Methinks, I see the venerable forms of Holt and Hale looking down upon us, attesting its continuance. Is it your opinion that bloody verdicts are still requisite to society; that gore enough has not been shed? that the bonds of society are not to be drawn close again, nor the scattered fragments of our strength bound together to make them of force, but they are to be left in that scattered state in which every stripling may break them to pieces?"*

* Ridgeway's Report of the Sheares' Trial, p. 160.

CHAPTER X.

Previously to the judge delivering his charge to the jury, Mr. Henry Sheares addressed the following words to the court: "My lords, after the able and eloquent defence, which has been made for me by my counsel, it would ill become me to add anything to it. *But there is one part of it which appears to me not to have been sufficiently dwelt upon.* It is respecting that paper. I protest most solemnly, my lords, I know nothing of it. To know of it, and to leave it where it was, when the magistrate came into the room, is a folly so glaring, that I cannot be supposed to have been guilty of it. When the alderman rapped at the door, I asked what was the matter? After he had been admitted, he said he wanted my papers. I told him they were there. My lords, is it possible I could commit myself and all I hold dear, by so egregious an act of folly? Having the dearest sources of happiness around me, should I sacrifice them and myself by leaving such a document in an open writing-box? My lords, I thank you for this indulgence. It would be irregular for me to expatiate on this subject any further. The evidence of Captain

Armstrong is one of the most ingenious and malicious fabrications with respect to me, I ever heard of. My lord, I think I could not be legally implicated by any paper found in this way."

Lord Carleton then proceeded to charge the jury. After laying down the law of treason, and adverting to the question raised by the counsel of the prisoners, as to the sufficiency of the evidence of one witness in cases of treason, to convict the accused, he said: "It has been argued, that in treason two witnesses are necessary here; that they were necessary by the common law of England, and that the common law being the same in both countries, two witnesses are necessary here. That the common law is the same in both countries, I admit; but as to the point of two witnesses being necessary in treason in this kingdom, with the concurrence of the bench and the opinion of several judges of this country, given in some of the late cases here, I avow that two witnesses are not necessary. They are necessary in England by a statute, which does not prevail to the same extent here. It is very true that Lord Coke was of a different opinion, as to the common law of England: however, Lord Hale and Mr. Justice Forster say it was the received opinion that Lord Coke was wrong."

His lordship then proceeded to comment on the evidence of Alderman Alexander with respect to the proclamation found in the house of the prisoners. He said: "It was found in a writing-box which lay upon a table, open and unlocked, and that it did not appear

evident whose property that writing-box was, or to which of the prisoners the house belonged."

Here Mr. John Sheares interposed, saying: "I beg your lordship's pardon, it was in my writing-box that paper was found."

His lordship observed: "I cannot call upon the prisoners for any admission of this kind, and I wish the paper may be determined by the evidence alone. It does not appear by express evidence, which of the prisoners was to be deemed as having it in his possession; as against John, who had written it, it is of more weight than against Henry; but as against the latter, it is of weight as being the act of one of the conspirators, in possession of the nature and objects of the conspiracy; nevertheless, as to him, leaving the discussion open as to the extent of his guilt. Gentlemen, this paper wants one circumstance of additional strength, in not being published; but notwithstanding, it is very powerfully operative in the cause, as corroborative of the other evidence, and as marking the intention of the party whom it is to affect."

With respect to the evidence of Armstrong, he said: "His testimony is sought to be impeached by shewing that he does not believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. He has sworn that he does believe in a Supreme Being, and in a future state of rewards and punishments; though it has been sworn he declared the contrary." His lordship left it to the jury, "whether he had made those declarations which had been im-

puted to him, seriously, and communicating his real opinions, (for he had been described as giddy and inconsiderate in his expression), or not;" observing, that "the evidence of Captain Clibborn supported and fortified his testimony,"* and that on several parts of his testimony, "the papers established his credit in a very strong manner."

His lordship concluded by observing, that "if the jury were satisfied with regard to the first count, that the facts had been established against both prisoners, they would find them both guilty; if against one only, they would find him guilty; and if they entertained any rational doubt, not merely a capricious doubt, but the doubt that might be entertained by sensible men, then in a capital case like this, they would lean to mercy."

With regard to the second count "of adhering to the king's enemies, the act must be done with the imputed intent of aiding the king's foreign enemies."

The jury were to determine whether the communication made to Armstrong, by John Sheares, of the pressure of events preventing their waiting any longer for French assistance, implied the purpose of opening rebellion by the seizure of the camp, city and privy council, expecting at a later period the assistance of the French, and that the rising was

* This gentleman was a captain in the same regiment that Armstrong belonged to; the sense of Captain Clibborn's services on this occasion, we may estimate from the manner they were rewarded. "December 3, 1800: George Clibborn, per receipt £500.

acted on, with a view to aid the foreign enemy; that intent was absolutely necessary, and the jury must be satisfied of this intent.

The jury then retired for seventeen minutes, and brought in a verdict, finding both the prisoners GUILTY.

As soon as the verdict was pronounced, the prisoners clasped each other in their arms.

It was now nearly eight o'clock on Friday morning, when the court adjourned to three o'clock.

The court met at the appointed hour, and the attorney-general moved, that Henry and John Sheares, might be brought up for the judgment of the court. They were accordingly brought into court, previously an ineffectual objection having being taken to the indictment, by Mr. M'Nally, on the ground that the indictment did not specify where the venue of the adherence to the king's enemies was laid. This objection having been overruled, the prisoners were placed at the bar, and being asked, "what they had to say, why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against them, according to law," Mr. Henry Sheares addressed the court in the following words.

"My lord, as I had no notion of dying such a death as I am about to meet, I have only to ask your lordship for sufficient time to prepare myself and family for it. I have a wife and ten children, and hope your humanity will allow some reasonable time, to settle my affairs and make provision for

them." He was unable to proceed further. The allusion to his family paralyzed his utterance. He was overwhelmed with tears.

Mr. John Sheares then addressed the court.—"My lord, I wish to offer a few words before the sentence is pronounced, because there is a weight pressing upon my heart, much greater than that of the sentence which is to come from the court. There has been, my lord, a weight pressing upon my mind, from the first moment I heard the indictment read upon which I was tried; but that weight has been more peculiarly and heavily pressing upon my heart, when I found the accusation in the indictment enforced and supported upon the trial; and that weight would be left insupportable, if it were not for this opportunity of discharging it:—I should feel it to be insupportable, since a verdict of my country has stamped that evidence as well-founded. Do not think, my lords, that I am about to make a declamation against the verdict of the jury, or the persons concerned in the trial; I am only about to call to your recollection a part of the charge, which my soul shudders at; and if I had not this opportunity of renouncing it before your lordships and this auditory, no courage would be sufficient to support me. The accusation, my lords, to which I allude, is one of the blackest kind, and peculiarly painful, because it appears to have been founded upon my own act and deed, and to be given under my own hand. The accusation of which I speak, while I linger here yet a minute, is 'that of holding out to the people of Ireland, a direction to give no

quarter to the troops fighting for its defence.' My lords, let me say this—and if there be any acquaintances in this crowded court—I will not say, my intimate friends, but acquaintances, who do not know that what I say is truth, I should be reputed the wretch which I am not—I say, if any acquaintance of mine can believe, that *I* could utter a recommendation of giving no quarter to a yielding and unoffending foe, it is not the death that I am about to suffer, which I deserve—no punishment could be adequate to such a crime. My lords, I can not only acquit my soul of such an intention, but I declare in the presence of that God, before whom I must shortly appear, that the favourite doctrine of my heart was—*That no human being should suffer death, but where absolute necessity required it.*

"My lords, I feel a consolation in making this declaration, which nothing else could afford me; because it is not only a justification of myself, but where I am sealing my life with that breath, which cannot be suspected of falsehood, what I say, may make some impression upon the minds of men not holding the same doctrine. I declare to God, I know no crime but assassination, which can eclipse or equal that of which I am accused. I discern no shade of guilt between that, and taking away the life of a foe, by putting a bayonet to his breast, when he is yielding and surrendering. I do request the Bench to believe that of me—I do request my country to believe that of me—I am sure God will think that of me.

"Now, my lords, I have no favour to ask of

the court: my country has decided that I am guilty, and the law says that I shall suffer: it sees that I am ready to suffer.

"But, my lords, I have a favour to request of the court that does not relate to myself. My lords, I have a brother, whom I have ever loved dearer than myself; but it is not from any affection for him alone, that I am induced to make the request. He is a man, and therefore, I would hope, prepared to die, if he stood as I do, *though I do not stand unconnected,* but he stands more dearly connected. In short, my lords, to spare your feelings and my own, I do not pray that I should not die—but that the husband, the father, the brother and the son, all comprised in one person, holding these relations, dearer in life to him than any other man I know;—for such a man, I do not pray a pardon, for that is not in the power of the court; but I pray a respite—for such time, as the court in its humanity and discretion shall think proper. You have heard, my lords, that his private affairs require arrangement. I have farther room for asking it: if immediately both of us be taken off, an aged and revered mother, a dear sister, and the most affectionate wife that ever lived, and six children, will be left without protection, or provision of any kind. When I address myself to your lordships, it is with the knowledge you will have, of all the sons of our aged mother being gone. Two have perished in the service of the king; one very recently.—I only request that, disposing of me with what swiftness, either the public mind or justice requires, a respite

may be given to my brother, and that the family may acquire strength to bear it all. That is all I wish—I shall remember it to my last breath, and I will offer up my prayers for you to that Being, who has endued us all with sensibility to feel. That is all I ask. I have nothing more to say."

Lord Carleton.—"In the awful duty imposed on me, no man can be more sensibly affected than I am, because I knew the very valuable and respectable father and mother from whom you are both descended; I knew and revered their virtues. One of them, happily for himself, is now no more; the other, for whom I have the highest personal respect, probably, by the events of this day may be hastened into futurity. It does not rest with me, after the conviction which has taken place, to hold out mercy; that is for another place; and I am afraid, in the present situation of public affairs, it will be difficult to grant even that indulgence which you, John Sheares, so pathetically request for your brother. With respect to one object of your soliciting time for your brother, unfortunately it could be of no use, because by the attainder he will forfeit all his property, real and personal; nothing to be settled will remain.

"It cannot be too much lamented, that two gentlemen, well educated, of good birth, respectable descent, and considerable talents, should be involved in a conspiracy, that might have spread desolation over the kingdom, and brought us all to ruin. This country has enjoyed as much freedom and security in the possession of every thing that was dear and valuable, as was consistent with a stable and effectual

government, where a part of our natural liberty is taken away in order to secure the rest; his majesty has been celebrated for his mild and gracious reign, as a strict observer and protector of our laws, our rights, and our religion. His reign has been a continued series of liberal concession to the people of this country, calling upon them to make a suitable return of fidelity, attachment, and allegiance. The conspiracy in which you have been involved, proposed as one of the means of effecting its object, to invite a foreign enemy into this kingdom, and to subject this country to foreign yoke; the conspiracy had been remarkable for the system, perseverance, and art with which it has been conducted, and for the wide diffusion of its principles. Other revolutions have had for their object a change of monarch, or an alteration of the constitution. But this conspiracy proposed the destruction of the higher orders of the state, and an almost general massacre. Those who formed this system, so artfully carried on, endeavoured to make the people of the country bad *men*, and thereby to make them more likely to become bad *subjects*. The conspiracy of which you have been convicted, had for its object the destruction of the monarchy and of the constitution, and to substitute anarchy, the worst of all tyrannies, in their place; and as far as we can collect from the intelligence received upon the subject, to annihilate all religion and morality, without having any substitute, save the unrestrained licentiousness of profligacy and vice; and this was done when a foreign enemy had threatened to invade this country—had denounced its destruction, and had

avowed an intention to erase its name from the list of nations.

"When you meditated the destruction of our laws, religion, and constitution, it is surprising you were not checked and restrained in the attempt by the danger attending yourselves; or by adverting to the extensive mischiefs which must have necessarily ensued.

"Let me, with great earnestness and charity, request you to reflect upon the enormity of your guilt, and that you will call to your minds that effusion of human blood which has already taken place, and that incalculable mischief which may follow a deliberate system of massacre and devastation. I could wish that the manifesto read in evidence against you had contained nothing sanguinary; but recollect, that in that manifesto it was declared that no person should be spared who did not join the rebellion prior to the attack.

Mr. John Sheares.—"I beg pardon, my lord, that was the evidence of Captain Armstrong—it is not part of the paper.

Lord Carleton.—"I have not the paper here; but that evidence was given against you. It now falls to my lot, and I never felt more pain than I do upon the present occasion, to pronounce that sentence which the law has provided against persons committing crimes of such magnitude as aim at the destruction of society. It is a sentence of great horror, but such as the wisdom of our ancestors ordained as a guard round the person of the king, and as a fence about that noble constitution which was acquired by

our ancestors, and which, I trust, we will transmit unimpaired to posterity, in order to hold out terror to those who are disposed to do ill, and to afford protection to the loyal part of the people of this country."

His lordship then pronounced sentence.

Mr. Attorney-General.—"My lord, I could with great sincerity allow any indulgence of time, if the country could by possibility admit of it. But, my lords, I have a great duty to discharge, and must pray that execution may be done upon the prisoners to-morrow.

Court.—"Be it so."

The prisoners were executed pursuant to their sentence, the following morning, Saturday, 14th of July, 1798, at the front of the prison, in Green-street.

The issue of this trial, no Englishman who reads this brief statement of its proceedings can fail to be surprised at. The conviction of one of the prisoners, taking into account the difference of the law, and of the estimate of the value of human life in both countries, might have been anticipated; but the conviction of the elder brother could hardly have been expected. For this result he himself was totally unprepared; and it will be seen by one of the letters of his brother John, that although he well knew what his own doom was likely to be, he had not the slightest idea that his brother would be convicted.

In the annals of judicial rigour, I doubt if there is any parallel to the conduct of the attorney-general in this instance, first, in compelling the counsel for the prisoners to proceed with their defence at midnight, after a sitting of the court of fifteen hours, and

having called for the judgment of the court, a few hours after the conviction, then praying the court, that execution might be done on the prisoners, on the day following.

It is impossible to form any other opinion of the indecorous and inhuman anxiety manifested for the immediate execution of the prisoners, hurrying these unfortunate persons from the dock to the gibbet, from the tribunal of the court, into the presence of their God, without affording them sufficient time to collect their distracted thoughts, to prepare their minds for the approach of their awful change, to arrange their temporal affairs, to bid a last farewell to their wretched friends, than that which those friends entertained, that Lord Clare was not willing there should be sufficient time for the success of any application to Lord Cornwallis in their behalf. The character of that nobleman, afforded to the implacable enemy of the Sheares, too much cause for apprehension, that the clemency of his nature might triumph over the severity of justice, and that his breast was not impenetrable to the supplication of the unfortunate.

Toler's, indeed, mailed as it was in "complete steel," mercy proof, and shielded against any appeal like this, was not actuated by any feeling of vindictiveness, in the performance of the task expected at his hands. He went through it, for the sake of the run after the rebels, as he would have gone after the hounds, with all the keenness of a sportsman; whether in the field or on the bench, only anxious to be in at the death. Lord Clare, in some things, was a man of

somewhat similar taste, but of a very different temperament. He hunted down his game, not for the pleasure of the chase, but on account of his antipathy to the creature he pursued. His natural disposition was by no means sanguinary; his feelings were warm, impetuous, ungovernable; he was capable of forming ardent friendships and of doing generous actions. But his violent temper, his arrogant disposition, his loose principles, and unbounded ambition, made his love of power and command, a domineering passion, which brooked no opposition, and converted his sense of offended pride, into implacable resentments. With respect to the leaders of the United Irishmen, who had given him no personal offence, he not only refrained from obstructing their overtures to enter into terms with the government, but his exertions were successfully used in their behalf, when other members of the privy council, were clamorous for their prosecution. The recollection of his conduct on these occasions were probably not forgotten by M'Nevin, when he spoke of his lordship with all his grievous faults as "an Irishman after all." Mr. Moore has recorded a trait of his character, in reference to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which shews his nature to have been intended for better things, than his political course would lead one to expect of him. A few days previously to the arrests at Bond's, he said to Mr. Ogilvie, "for God's sake get that young man out of the way, the ports shall be open to him." On another occasion, of no less peril to an individual implicated in an attempt to procure the assistance of a military force from the

French government, he gave that individual timely information of his danger, and thus enabled him to effect his escape. This circumstance never has been made public, but I see no reason why it should be withheld, or that an act of justice to the memory of one, whose conduct on other occasions has been deservedly reprobated, should be left undone. The late Archibald Hamilton Rowan, owed his life to a communication made to him by Lord Clare. The statement of the fact may cause the justice of the opinions expressed on the subject of his lordship's conduct in the case of the Sheares, to be called in question; but the inconsistencies of Lord Clare's character, it would be a difficult matter to reconcile, or to account for. It is, however, far more gratifying to the writer, to have one trait of generosity to record of such a man, than to corroborate previous statements by new evidence of his vindictiveness.

My authority for the above mentioned fact, is a physician, long and intimately acquainted with Rowan, a gentleman of unquestionable veracity. He was informed by Rowan, a short time before his death, that the first intimation he received of the detection of Dr. Jackson's correspondence with the French directory, and of the discovery by government of a paper, in his own hand-writing, composed by Theobald Wolfe Tone, and copied by him, (Rowan,) setting forth the political state of Ireland, had been communicated to him, while he was confined in Newgate, (undergoing the sentence imposed on him, for publishing and distributing "a seditious libel,") by a person sent to him expressly by Lord

Clare, for the purpose of acquainting him with his dangerous position.

Rowan, promptly acting on the information, easily found means of escaping from jail, and fled to France.

Would that any similar act of generosity, in the case of the Sheares, could be recorded of his lordship! Unfortunately, in their case, there is no exhibition of generosity, but too evident proofs of the remembrance of old animosities, and resentment for personal offences, rankling in his mind, and never lost sight of, till they were expiated under the forms of legal vengeance.*

* Lord Castlereagh deemed it necessary to the character of the Irish government, to have *an improved* report of the trial of the Sheares printed and published in England.

"Feb. 2.—Mr. John Stockdale of London, for printing Sheares' Trial, 1798, by direction of Lord Castlereagh, £46 11*s.* 1½*d.*"

CHAPTER XI.

Before quitting the subject of this trial, it is necessary to allude to the difference in regard to evidence, between the law of treason in England and in Ireland: two witnesses are required in England, and one only at that period, was requisite in Ireland, to convict of treason. In Dr. William Jackson's case, in 1794, this discrepancy in the law of the two countries first was made the subject of legal controversy; the court, however, decided that the evidence of one witness was sufficient, and the prisoner was accordingly convicted! This decision was made, not in virtue of any existing statute, but on the grounds that the British statute, 7 William III. was not in force in Ireland, and that the common law, which rendered the evidence of one witness sufficient in cases of felony, was likewise applicable to cases of treason, and sufficient to convict on. The Act of Union, however, of 1800, did not make the law of England applicable to this country, or place the law, with respect to treason, on a different footing to that on which it previously rested! In the cases of Jackson and the Sheares, the indictment was under 25 Edward III. cap. 2, and no clause in that act re-

lating to evidence had fallen into disuse, or been annulled in either country. The statute, however, of 7 William III., which expressly declared the evidence of two witnesses necessary in cases of treason, was declared not to be in force in Ireland. Another statute, I believe repealed, of Phillip and Mary, third and fourth of their reign, had been in force in Ireland, whereby it was enacted, that "all trials for high treason are to be hereafter according to the common law alone;" and, "two, at least, of the parties who depose anything against him (the accused) shall, if living and in the kingdom, be produced before him!" The opinion of Lord Chief Justice Clonmell, in Jackson's case, of the sufficiency of one witness to convict, is diametrically opposed to the decisions of the great legal authorities of England! In Dr. Jackson's case, the chief justice said, in his charge in reference to the question of the sufficiency of one witness," the common law of England and Ireland is the same. One witness is enough, if you believe that witness; if he swears to the facts laid; if they are sufficiently stated to have been his acts, and go to manifest the intention imputed to him. It is the opinion of this court, that a second witness, by the common law of Great Britain and of this kingdom, is not necessary. And the statute of William III., which requires two witnesses, is not in force here. That such was the common law, appears to have been the opinion of Sir Richard Foster, as high an authority as any other. He states (page 223), "that one witness is sufficient if he has spoken to all material points."—Vide "Ridgeway's Reports."

Jackson, page 38. The other judges in this case, Downs and Chamberlain, said they agreed with the chief justice, that one witness was sufficient. Mr. Ponsonby, the counsel for the prisoners, acknowledged that Judge Foster and Sergeant Hawkins had held this opinion, but that Coke, a higher authority than either, had laid it down that "no man can be convicted of high treason, but upon the evidence of two credible witnesses, at least to every overt act and to every kind of treason." In the case of the Sheares, Mr. Ponsonby, one of the counsel for the prisoners, in his speech in defence, appears to have given up the point he contended for on the former trial: he now admitted, that the law was not the same here as it is England." The law (unhappily for the subjects here) being, that one witness alone is sufficient to convict." *

Mr. Curran, the other counsel in this case, made a similar admission; he said, "I do not pretend, gentlemen, to say you are bound by an English act of parliament; you may condemn upon the testimony of a single witness." But he told the jury, "It would be doing that, which in Ireland might be legally done, and in England it would be murder to do." He cited Blackstone's authority for the necessity of a double testimony to convict, in order to secure the subject from being sacrificed to fictitious conspiracies, which have been the engines of profligate and crafty politicians in all ages." † It was henceforward held by our Irish judges, that the decisions

* Ridgeway's Report of Sheares' Trial, p. 104.

† Vide Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 358.

of Clonmell and Carleton had in that country superseded the authority of Coke and Blackstone! Taking the above decisions into account, it appears that as the statute 7 Henry III. did not bind Ireland by its legislative cogency, and entitle this country to the benefit of England's protective laws, and the act of Union of 1800, left Ireland subject to the operation of its own barbarous enactments, or conflicting interpretations of those acts prior to the statute of William III.; the act of 1800 had taken away the legislative power of conforming its judicial proceedings to the humanized spirit and character of the times! It is said, both countries are governed by the same laws, and these laws are administered with equal justice; how did it happen, then, that in one country, men could be convicted of treason on the evidence of one witness, and not in the other? and that human life was estimated at double the value in England which it was in Ireland; in short, worthy, in the former, of twice the amount of protection which it was in the latter? Did this arise from the necessary consequences of colonial rule, naturally springing from the domineering sense of imperial power? or was it to be regarded as a conclusive proof of a less obvious fitness for the higher privileges of British law, based on a well-founded opinion of the mental and moral inferiority of the people of the dependant country? To whatever cause the deprivation of so valuable a privilege in one country, and its existence in another under the same rule, is to be attributed, certain it is that that the British subject, who, in cases of this kind, happened to be placed upon his trial in England,

had protection in a twofold proportion for his life and liberty from the possible baseness of falsehood or malignity, to that which was granted to the subject of the same sovereign who happened to be tried in the sister kingdom.

On the trial of the elder Watson for high treason, in 1817, Judge Bayley, in his charge to the grand jury, said, "*In cases of treason, it is necessary that there should be two witnesses in order that the accused may be convicted. Two witnesses to each overt act. But if one witness proves one overt act, and a second proves another, in the same count, that will be sufficient in law to warrant conviction.*" Such an extraordinary difference in the laws, or the interpretation of them, in two countries governed by the same sovereign, and owing to him the same allegiance, to intelligent Englishmen will appear hardly credible. In wading through the painful records of the crimes and tyranny of those times, no subject connected with them was the source of more astonishment to myself. The importance of the matter induced me to enter on an enquiry that required no little research, and of a kind for which my pursuits were indeed little qualified. The result of those enquiries, as detailed in the foregoing pages, I communicated to a gentleman of the legal profession, whose claims on the respect of his countrymen are more than hereditary, and entitled on higher grounds to their regard and confidence. I requested this gentleman to inform me how the law at present stood in regard to evidence in cases of treason, and what alteration, if any, had been made. To that application, I received the fol-

lowing reply, "An act was introduced in the Imperial Parliament by the late Lord Holland, the 1st and 2nd George IV. by which the provisions of the English statute 7 William III. chap. 3, requiring two witnesses in cases of high treason have been extended to Ireland; and in this respect, the law of the two countries is now the same."

The benefit, however tardily bestowed, and fortunately little known in Ireland by its practical advantages—it is gratifying to learn, not only for the importance of it, but on account of the source from which it emanated. If the memory of the amiable and enlightened nobleman who introduced this measure into the Imperial Parliament, had no other title to the gratitude or reverence of his country, this act alone would be sufficient to uphold his services in the public mind. The circumstances are worthy of observation, which led Lord Holland's attention to this subject. An article in the Edinburgh Review, written by one of its most distinguished contributors, on the life of Curran, attracted his lordship's attention. The work itself is probably one of the most interesting pieces of biography in our language. The spirit in which it is written; the moderation of the author's political views; the absence of all rancorous feelings; the delicacy of filial attachment, and the cultivated taste, combined with the soundest principles of civil and religious liberty exhibited in that production, could not fail to render even such glimpses of its merits as are to be found in a review, acceptable to one of Lord Holland's literary and political sentiments. The subject

of Curran's argument on the trial of the Sheares, against the legal doctrine laid down in the former decision of the Court, with respect to the sufficiency of evidence in cases of treason, strongly attracted the attention of Lord Holland. And such was the impression which the circumstance of the conviction of the Sheares made upon his mind, that he immediately took steps to remove so iniquitous a distinction in the state of the criminal code, and the mode of conducting the proceedings in cases of treason in both countries. The notice taken of this matter by Mr. William Henry Curran, in his admirable work, and brought to the knowledge of Lord Holland by the Edinburgh Review, his lordship acknowledged, induced him to introduce the recent Act. As the law in Ireland differed so materially from that of England, that the testimony of one witness was sufficient to convict in the former country, the question of the informer's credibility became of double importance to the accused, and ought to have rendered the crown prosecutors doubly careful in the use they made of that odious agency. It was said by Pope, of one of his cotemporaries, that he was singularly "open and scandalous in his debauchery." The O'Briens, Duttons, Reynolds, and others, were not only singularly infamous in their lives and actions, but their official employers were scandalously prominent in encouraging, supporting, and remunerating those wretches. "The Captain," whose first exploit in the line of testimony was on the trial of the Sheares, had the character of a gentleman and an officer (according to Sir

Jonah Barrington) to sustain and to compromise; and in this respect, Sir Jonah says, he differed from Mr. Reynolds.

The accuracy of the trial, as reported by Ridgeway, has not been called in question. I refer to it for the account of Captain's Armstrong's evidence, and the testimony of those of his own family and others of his associates, for the character of their friend and relative. In England, the latter testimony would have inevitably led to an acquittal; but the geographical distance that intervenes between Great Britain and Australia, is not greater than the political space was wide and vast, which separated the privileges of the king's subjects in England from those of the people of Ireland, and distinguished between the value of human life in both countries, so far as it could be affected by the administration of justice of that period. Nothing would, probably, shew the truth of this observation more, than a comparison between the mode of conducting the trials for treason in both countries, and the issue of them. In one country, we find, in almost every instance, a spirit of party violence, and a pervading tincture of virulence mixed up with the proceedings of the crown prosecutor: a single witness relied on for a conviction; his character, however atrocious, taken upon the especial protection of the authorities; and the customary issue—death and execution. In the other country, we find no political feelings influencing the judicial proceedings; in those cases the law officer of the crown is not employed to hunt down the accused, but to vindicate the laws the prisoner is accused of offending, and the

prosecutor is as cautious of violating the principles of justice in the person of the prisoner, as he is jealous of maintaining them, where they have been "proveably" offended. The presiding judge sits not on the bench as a political partizan, but as the interpreter of the laws, the dispenser of justice, and the legal protector of the prisoner at the bar. His authority is respected, and looked up to with confidence by the culprit, and if he never appreciated before the value of the institutions of his country, in the perils he has perhaps brought upon himself, he is then taught their worth, and is compelled, at last, to respect them. No one man is "the supreme arbiter of life and death" in case of treason, and such is the tender regard for human life on the part of English juries, that convictions under indictments for treason during the last forty-six years, compared with acquittals, have scarcely been in the ratio of one to ten. The result of the state trials in each of the remarkable epochs of public commotion in England, in 1794 and 1817, in the cases of John Horne Tooke and his associates, and Dr. Watson and his accomplices, is a sufficient illustration of the fact.

In the years 1798 and 1803, in Ireland, trial and conviction in almost every instance followed, as if in the natural order of cause and effect. And yet the weight of evidence in the cases of Watson, Thistlewood, Preston and Hooper, persons actually taken in the commission of the overt acts of treason, was certainly not less than in many cases of conviction in Ireland.

Every public man has his panacea for the wrongs

of Ireland or the moral improvement of its people. But the abolition of the punishment of death, has not been looked to for the accomplishment of either; a few humane men of one religious community, of late years, have interfered in cases of capital convictions, and have succeeded in effecting a remission of the sentence in particular instances. The author of an admirable pamphlet, entitled, "Employ, don't Hang them," has demonstrated the inexpediency and inutility of the old mode of repressing crime; but no politician has taken up this question, on the broad ground of its vast importance, as a measure for the moral and social reformation of the people. The two great moral evils which struck at the root of national prosperity in Ireland, were intemperance and a proneness to personal violence, that arose in a great degree from the sense of the insecurity of life, in their own cases, and the little value they were taught to set upon it in reference to others.

The example of sanguinary punishments, tended rather to habituate the people to the spectacle of death, than to produce a wholesome influence on their minds: the greatest of all reforms, has taken from the national character the reproach and crime of intemperance; the other stain upon it remains to be removed. Within the last four years the crime of homicide has, indeed, decreased to an unprecedented extent; but agrarian outrages, attended with the loss of life, still follow in the footsteps of destitution and oppression, and barbarous deeds are punished but not repressed, by penalties, which neither humanize nor terrify the evil doers.

Much indeed of late years has been done to make the law itself, by its example, diffuse a civilizing spirit, and by its administration, to produce a sense of the security and inviolability of human life.

But a great deal more remains to be done, to cause it to be respected, and to deprive its victims of the sympathy, which its severity procures for them, among those of their own class and station in society.

In times by no means remote, we have seen the terrors of a draconian code resorted to without effect; the appeal must now be to a better and a stronger passion than fear, to cause the law to be respected and obeyed. If the observation of the effects of sanguinary punishments, in many countries uncivilized, or wholly unreclaimed from barbarism, might enable one to form any opinion of their influence on the habits of the people subject to their infliction, the result of such experience could not fail to make those punishments the criterion of national character; and, in proportion as the laws were severe, the people would be found to be barbarous. It may be said, that it is not the rigour of the law which has brutalized them; but, if it cannot be shewn that its extreme severity has tended to humanize them, we must come to the conclusion that it has not fulfilled its purpose—and, failing of it, that it ought to be put an end to. The vengeance of the law, and of that rigour which went beyond the law, overtook a multitude of the subordinate actors in the conspiracy of the United Irishmen in 1798. Its justice was at length satis-

fied, or satiated, with the victims who expiated their offences on the scaffold, or at the lamp-posts. Clemency at length prevailed in the councils of the administration; and the chiefs of that conspiracy—the men who directed, planned, and concocted it—Messrs. Emmett, O'Connor, M'Nevin, Jackson, Neilson, &c. were spared, and allowed to leave the country. Is there one man living, who now thinks that this act of mercy was injurious to the state, detrimental to its peace, or prejudicial to the ends of justice? Is there one man living, who believes that the public interests would have been promoted in any degree more by the hanging of these gentlemen, than by their subsequent deaths, in the ordinary course of nature, in a distant land? Many of them rose, in foreign countries, to the first rank and highest honours in their different professions—became useful members of society—reared up their children in virtuous habits, and left their families amply provided for. The private virtues of Emmett, M'Nevin and Sampson, I never heard spoken of in America, by those, even, of their own countrymen *most inimical* to their early principles, except in terms of commendation. If, in their instance, justice required not the forfeiture of life for the punishment of their offences—how much is it to be lamented that, in that of the Sheares, the same opportunity was not afforded for the retrieval of their errors, and the protection of those belonging to them.

A conversation on this subject, with an American gentleman, some years ago, tended not a little to

confirm, if not to form, the opinions expressed in the preceding observations.

One of the persons whom the humanity of an English jury saved from an ignominious death, the elder Watson, was living in New York, in 1835. The absurdity, no less than the criminality of the attempt of the actors in the Spafields outrages, was not calculated to enlist much sympathy in their behalf even in America.

Watson, however, had the good fortune, shortly after his acquittal, to seek a refuge in New York. His principal associates remained in England; and the subsequent Cato-street conspiracy, which brought them to the scaffold, afforded presumptive proof of the mischievous designs both of Watson and Thistlewood in the former attempt. No doubt the minister of that day expected a conviction in the case of Watson, and thought that the interests of the public required it. The jury, however, thought otherwise, and they acquitted the prisoner. One of the most eminent physicians of New York pointed out to me, in a public assemblage in that city, in 1835, a gentleman of a grave and respectable appearance, and seemingly of retired and unassuming manners. "You see that middle-aged man in black?" said the American physician; "I guess you were very anxious to have him hanged in the old country a few years ago. His name is Watson; he managed to get over here, and he has lived amongst us some years. He has turned out here a very quiet, inoffensive, industrious man. He follows his profession, and has had the good sense to take no part whatever in our

politics. I reckon," continued my informant, "that society goes on in the old country pretty much as well as it did since he left it. He is here attending to his business, which, perhaps, he did not do at home, and gaining his livelihood in a creditable manner. I have a notion, the very worst way in the world to improve a man, is to hang him—or to benefit society, is to put folks to death who don't know how to behave themselves, or to support their families. We keep them alive here, in order to teach them how to do both." It is most devoutly to be wished (so far) we may follow their example, and in our plans for the improvement of the people, the preservation of the peace, the repression of violence, for rendering the laws respected, and strengthening the execution of them; we may superadd to the American "notion," the counsel of the author of the pamphlet already referred to, even improving on the latter, and that the motto of all moral reformation in regard to our people may be—Teach, employ, and do not hang them.

CHAPTER XII.

The following affecting, most painfully affecting letters, were written by John Sheares, in the brief interval between the 10th and 14th of July. The former date, two days preceding his trial, the latter, the day of his execution.

The first letter is addressed to his beloved sister Julia; and though previously to his trial, he was sufficiently acquainted with the ordinary result of a trial for treason at that period, to be assured there was no hope for him, he knew too well the nature of the man whose enmity he had incurred, to expect mercy; and in this respect he certainly was not mistaken. But greatly indeed was he mistaken, in the certainty he felt and expressed in this letter of his brother's acquittal. He speaks of it, as of a thing of which there could not be a doubt. And on what grounds could he possibly have formed this opinion, except on the knowledge of his brother's entire innocence with respect to that paper of which he was the author, and also of the most important communications into which he entered with Armstrong?

There are two subjects touched on in this letter,

which need explanation, and to which I would willingly avoid referring, if I did not think that truth has its claims on biography, as well as the memory of those whom it has to do with. I allude to his religious opinions, and the charge he commits to the affectionate care of his dear sister. A portion of this letter has found its way into other publications, with the omission of those parts of it to which I have alluded; and the extract that is given, is generally looked upon as the entire letter written by John Sheares to his sister, shortly before his death. I am far from attributing the slightest blame to those, who thought it most serviceable to his memory, to omit these matters. My own opinion with respect to the duties I have undertaken, is that I am bound to give every paper and record, every act well authenticated, of theirs, which throws any light on their characters, leaving to my readers the charity and the justice even, of forming their judgment, as they would desire their own memories might be judged by others, in a considerate and a christian spirit.

"To Julia Sheares.

"Kilmainham Prison, July 10th, '98.

"The troublesome scene of life, my ever dear Julia, is nearly closed, and the hand that now traces these lines, will, in a day or two, be no longer capable of communicating to a beloved and affectionate family, the sentiments of his heart. A painful task yet awaits me—I do not allude to my trial, nor to my execution. These, were it not for the consciousness I feel of the misery you all will suffer on my account,

would be trivial, in comparison with the pain I endure at addressing you for the last time. You have been kind to me, Julia, beyond example; your solicitude for my welfare has been unremitting, nor did it leave you a moment's happiness, as a wayward fate seems, from the earliest moment of my life, to have presided over my days. I will not now recapitulate the instances of a perverse destiny, that seem to have marked me out as the instrument of destruction to all I loved.

"Robert and Christopher, dear valued brothers! if it be true that the human mind survives the body, I shall shortly join you, and learn for what wise purpose Heaven thought fit to select me as your destroyer. My mother too! O God! my tender, my revered mother! I see her torn locks—her broken heart—her corpse! Heavenly Author of the universe, what have I done to deserve this misery?

"I must forbear these thoughts as much as possible, or I must forbear to write. My time comes on the day after tomorrow, and the event is unequivocal. You must summon up all the resolution of your soul, my dear, dear Julia—if there be a chance of snatching my afflicted mother from the grave, that chance must arise from your exertions—my darling Sally, too, will aid you—she will for a while suspend her joy at the restoration of her husband to her arms; for of his escape, I have no more doubt, than I have of my own conviction and its consequences. All, all of you, forget your individual griefs and joys, and unite to save that best of parents from the grave.—Stand between her and despair,—if she will speak of

me, sooth her with every assurance calculated to carry consolation to her heart. Tell her that my death, though nominally ignominious, should not light up a blush in her face; that she knew me incapable of a dishonourable action, or thought; that I died in full possession of the esteem of all those who knew me intimately; that justice will yet be done to my memory, and my fate be mentioned rather with pride, than shame, by my friends and relations. Yes, my dear sister, if I did not expect the arrival of this justice to my memory, I should indeed be afflicted at the nominal ignominy of my death, lest it may injure your welfare and wound the feelings of my family. But above all things, tell her that at my own request, I was attended in my latest moments, by that excellent and pious man, Dr. Dobbin, and that my last prayer was offered up for her. While I feared for Harry's life, hell itself could have no tortures for the guilty, beyond what I endured.

"I picture you all, a helpless, unprotected group of females, left to the miseries of your own feelings, and to the insult of a callous insensible world. Sally, too, stript of a husband, on whom she so tenderly doats, and his children of their father, and all by my cursed intervention, by my residence with them. Yet, Heaven is my witness, how assiduously I sought to keep aloof in any of my political concerns from him, and would have entirely succeeded in doing so, if it had not been for the art of that villain Armstrong, and Harry's own incaution. My efforts, however, have kept him clear of any of those matters, that have involved me in destruction.

When Sally has got him back to her arms, and that I (who caused his danger and her unhappiness) shall be no more, she will cease to think of me with reproach.—This I trust she will do—she ought—for she herself could never have done more for his salvation, than I endeavoured to do. But the scene is changed, I am no longer that frantic thing I was, while his danger appeared imminent. A calm sorrow for the sufferings that await you on my account, and a heartfelt regret at being obliged to quit your loved society for ever, has succeeded. Yet, all this will soon have an end, and with comfort I already anticipate the moment, when your subsiding grief gives you back to the enjoyment of each other.—Still, my dearest Julia, even when I shall be no more, your plagues on my account are not likely to cease. You remember, I am sure you do, your kind promise of protection to my poor unfortunate little Louisa? I make no doubt but her mother will give her up to your care without reluctance, yet how to impose this new anxiety on you, I know not. But of this I will say nothing; I know your heart, and never could resist the goodness, with which it insisted on easing mine, by burdening itself. What to recommend relative to her, I cannot resolve. Harry did once desire me to take her into his house, but I had a thousand objections to that plan then, some of which still remain; one material one is, that she would soon learn from servants and others, how different her situation there was, from that of the other children, and her young mind would very early feel that chilling inferiority and degradation, that

lead to a debasement of principle, and ultimately to mean and unworthy actions. No—a great many reasons concur, to decide me against that measure. She should be put to some school, where more care is taken of health than education, and where the only attention to morals, consists in good honest example. Apropos, she was at a Mrs. Duggan's, at Bray, to whom I yet owe ten guineas for her, and which I request of my dear mother to pay for me, when convenient; I do not owe any more on her account, to any one whatever. I likewise owe a note of hand for about thirteen pounds or guineas, to a man in Capel Street, whom the Flemings know. I cannot mention the name of these friends, without emotions of gratitude and tenderness, not to be expressed; never cease to assure them, that I preserve the recollection of their goodness, though the instances of it are so many, and I shall feel it to the last moment; this debt they will be obliged to pay, if not discharged by my mother, as they passed their word for it—you will therefore mention it to my poor afflicted mother. Great God! how have I stripped her and you; but I have stripped you of happiness, and should not talk of money. I owe a few guineas to the worthy Charles Coghlan, of Cork, and about two, to Cole, the shoemaker, on Ormond Quay; to H. Fleming's tailor, also, for a suit of black clothes, and I believe some small balance of an account to H. Fleming himself. This is all at present I recollect. Good night, Julia; I am going to rest, with a heart, thank God! free from the consciousness of intentional offence, and from any wish tainted with per-

sonal resentment. I seek my bed with pleasure, because in it, I often fancy myself in the full possession of that domestic happiness, which I always regarded as the first of human enjoyments. Pray Heaven, I dream of you all night.

Wednesday night, July 11th, 1798.

"It is now eleven o'clock, and I have only time to address my beloved Julia, in a short eternal farewell.

"Thou sacred Power, whatever be thy name and nature, who hast created us the frail and imperfect beings we are, hear the ardent prayer of a creature, about to enter on an awful unknown change. If Thy divine Providence can be effected by mortal supplications, hear and grant, I beseech Thee, the last wishes of a heart, that has ever adored Thy goodness. Let peace and happiness, once more visit the bosoms of my beloved family; let a mild grief succeed the miseries they have endured, and when this debt be paid to the dust of him, who has caused it, let all their ensuing days glide on, in union and domestic harmony. Enlighten my beloved brother; to him and his invaluable wife, grant the undisturbed enjoyment of their mutual love, and as they advance, let their means of providing for the sweet pledges of their attachment increase. Let my Julia, my feeling, too-feeling Julia, feel the consolation she so often sought for others. Let her soul repose at length and in the consummation of all the wishes of her excellent heart, let her taste that happiness, her virtues have so well merited. For my other sisters, provide those comforts their situation requires. To

my mother,—Oh! eternal Power! what gift shall I ask for my matchless parent?—restore her to that peace, which I have torn from her. Let her forget me, in the ceaseless affections of her remaining children, and in their growing prosperity, let her taste that happiness, which is best suited to her affectionate heart; and when at length she is called hence, let her find in everlasting bliss, the due reward of a life of suffering virtue.

"Adieu, Julia, my light is just out; the approach of darkness is like that of death, since both alike require I should say farewell for ever. O my dear family, farewell for ever! J. S."

The gentleman to whom the following letter was addressed by John Sheares, the morning on which he was tried, was Mr. Gilbert Henry Fleming, an attorney, in Dublin, the second cousin and faithful friend of both brothers. Mr. Fleming's elder brother, William, was an officer in the Bengal Artillery; at the period of the trial he was on leave in Ireland, and the exertions he made in assisting his brother to procure evidence, drew down on him the suspicions of the ultra-loyal authorities; he was denounced to government, and his friend, Lord Cornwallis, who had known him in foreign service, sent for him, and apprized him of his danger. He recommended his immediately proceeding to India, to join his regiment. He did so—rose to distinction, then returned to Ireland, and died possessed of considerable wealth.

"Newgate, July 12th.

"My dear Harry,—As I shall know to-day what will be my fate, I enclose you a letter for my dear sister Julia, which I request you will give her as soon after my execution as you shall think prudent. To such dear friends as you and William, I know it is unnecessary to recommend my afflicted family—and particularly my ever-revered mother. I will require the performance of Dr. Dobbin's kind promise, as soon as I feel myself fit to receive him. I did intend giving into your hands a short defence of myself, relative to some points in which I know I shall be vilely calumniated; but I have not had time, as I prepared every syllable of our defence, and wrote letters, &c. One of you ought to be present at my execution; yet this is too much to ask.—No: I must endure misrepresentation—the hearts of my friends will justify me. Farewell, my ever kind, ever valued friends; I am called to court—farewell for ever!

"J. S."

The preceding letter was enclosed in one addressed to the Messrs. Fleming, in the following words:—

"Newgate, 13th July.

"God bless you both, my excellent friends: give the enclosed to Julia, for my afflicted mother, when their griefs have sufficiently subsided.—Farewell, for ever. J. S."

The following letter—the night before his execution—was written to his mother. That letter, short as it is, to "his dear, dear, his injured, his beloved mother," might have satisfied the vindictive feelings

of his most obdurate enemy, had he known the mortal pangs that must have exceeded all former agonies of mind of his unfortunate adversary, which that last farewell to a fond mother from a favourite child must have cost the writer. This letter bears the simple superscription—"My Mother."

"My dear, injured, perhaps expiring, mother, hear a son's—an unworthy son's last request; grant to my beloved sister Sally, that portion of your generosity bestowed on me, else she is penniless; but why urge this?—you know her worth, and are generosity itself. Farewell, my dear, dear [mother], my injured, my adored mother. Oh! Sally, I hear your curses; they are just! Julia, beloved Julia——— farewell for ever. JOHN SHEARES."

"Send poor little Jane * to the Swetes, with her dying father's request that they will let her be partaker with her sister of their bounty, from which alone she can hope for support. If they should be —— enough to reject her, need I suggest to my adored mother the appropriation of whatever fragment, however small, may by chance be within her gift. But I know that my harpy talons have seized on all. Once more, and for ever, adieu! thou best and most beloved of parents."

On the morning of his execution, at the instance of his brother, whose frame of mind was broken down with a calamity he was so little prepared to expect, John addressed the following letter to the father of Henry Sheares' first wife, Mr. Swete of Cork:—

* One of Henry's daughters by his second marriage.

"Newgate, 14th July, 1798.

"Sir,—The dying father bids me take the pen he cannot hold; he bids me commend with his expiring breath, his little penniless Jane, as a participator with her sister Alicia, in your goodness and bounty, from which alone she can hope for support and provision. He sends his love and blessing to Alicia, and his sincerest wishes for yours and Mrs. Swete's happiness. To all these, add the prayers of your departing and sincere friend, JOHN SHEARES."

One of the most important of these letters to the character of John Sheares, is the following one, addressed the night before his execution to Dr. Dobbin, a pious and enlightened minister of the Church of England, who attended him in his last moments. The subject of this letter is the paper better known by the name of "The sanguinary Proclamation," written by John Sheares; and the suppression on the trial of a most important portion of that document, which would have placed the meaning of the whole paper in a very different light to that which the part of it produced by his prosecutors, has thrown upon it.

"Newgate, 12 o'clock at night.

"13th July.

"My dear Sir,—As tomorrow is appointed for the execution of my brother and me, I shall trouble you with a few words on the subject of the writing produced on my trial, importing to be a proclamation. The first observation I have to make, is that *a considerable part of that scrawled production was suppressed on my trial;* from what motive, or whether by

accident, I will not say. Certain it is, that the part which has not appeared, must have, in a great measure, shewn what the true motives were that caused that writing, had it been produced. To avoid a posthumous calumny, in addition to the many and gross misrepresentations of my principles, moral and political, I shall state with the most strict regard to truth, what my chief objects were in writing, or rather in attempting to write it, for it is but a wretched, patched, and garbled attempt. It was contained in a sheet of paper, and in one or two pieces more, *which are not forthcoming*—the sheet alone is produced. It is written in very violent revolutionary language, because, as it in the outset imports, after a revolution had taken place, could it alone be published, and the occasion of such an event I thought every day more probable. The first sentence that has produced much misrepresentation, is that which mentions that some of the most obnoxious members of government have already paid the forfeit of their lives—I cannot state the words exactly—from this it is concluded that I countenanced assassination. Gracious God! but I shall simply answer, that this sentence was merely suppositious, and founded on that common remark, oftenest made by those who least wished it verified, that if the people had ever recourse to force, and succeeded, there were certain persons whom they would most probably destroy. The next most obnoxious sentence—more obnoxious to my feelings, because calculated to misrepresent the real sentiments of my soul—is that which recommends to give no quarter to those

who fought against their native country, [unless they should speedily join the standard of freedom.] With this latter part of the sentence I found two faults, and therefore drew my pen across it, as above. The first fault was, that the word 'speedily' was too vague, and might encourage the sanguinary immediately to deny quarter—which was the very thing the whole sentence was intended to discountenance and prevent. The next fault was, that it required more than ever should be required of any human being—namely, to fight against his opinions from fear. The sentence was intended to prevent the horrid measure of refusing quarter from being adopted, or appearing to acquiesce in it at some future period, when the inhuman thirst for it should no longer exist. But, as the sentence now stands in two parts of the sheet, it must appear as if I sought to enforce the measure I most abhor. To prevent it was, indeed, one of my leading motives for writing the address; but I had three others, that are expressed on the piece or pieces of paper which made part of the writing, but which, though laid all together in the same desk, have disappeared. The three objects alluded to are these—the protection of property, preventing the indulgence of *revenge,* and the strict forbiddal of injuring any person for religious differences. I know it is said, that I call on the people to take vengeance on their oppressors—and enumerate some of their oppressions; but this is the very thing that enables me to point out the difference between *private revenge* and *public vengeance.* The former has only a retrospec-

tive and malignant propensity, while the latter, though animated by the recollection of the past, has ever and only in view the removal of the evil, and of the possibility of its recurrence. Thus, the assassin revenges himself; but the patriot avenges his country of its enemies, by overthrowing them, and depriving them of all power again to hurt it. In the struggle, some of their lives may fall; but these were not the objects of his vengeance. In short, even the Deity himself is said, in this sense, to be an avenging Being:—but who deems him *revengeful?* Adieu, my dear Sir: let me entreat you, whenever an opportunity shall occur, that you will justify my principles on these points.

"Believe me, your sincere friend,

"*Newgate,* 12 *o'clock at Night, July* 13.* "JOHN SHEARES."

I now avail myself of the proper time and place for laying before my readers this paper, or rather this portion of the paper, written by John Sheares, and produced on the trial, and insert a copy of that document, as it was produced in court by the crown prosecutor.

At the onset, I acknowledge that paper appears to me to be indefensible, considered as the deliberate act and emanation of a composed, untroubled mind. I further admit, that the efforts of John Sheares to explain away its proscriptive character,

* The above letter was written twelve hours before his execution.

on the ground of the difference between revenging a private wrong, and avenging national ones, are not satisfactory; and that the line drawn between "private revenge and public vengeance," as to the difference between them, and the justifiable character of the latter, in contradistinction to the criminal nature of the former, is one which cannot be sustained on moral grounds, though it may seem to derive a sanction from public opinion; in legal language, in reference to the vindication of the laws, or in the employment of force with regard to the chastisement of treacherous or rapacious enemies. Those who were the ministers of public vengeance, in 1797 and 1798, on many occasions gratified the feelings of their private revenge, under a colourable pretext of public necessity, by persecuting those who were opposed to their views or interests. What distinction can be drawn between these forms of private and of public vindictiveness?

Before the unpublished and unfinished scrawl which bears the name of "John Sheares' sanguinary Proclamation," is referred to, it will be well to glance at a published and deliberately-concocted proclamation, bearing the name of James Napper Tandy, and stated to have been distributed by him and others of his party, when he made his well-known descent on the coast at Rutland, in the county Donegal:—for violence of language, vindictiveness, and blood-breathing wickedness, I think it will be found to surpass any thing of the kind:—

"LIBERTY OR DEATH!

"Northern Army of Avengers.

"*Head Quarters, First Year of Irish Liberty.*

"GENERAL JAMES NAPPER TANDY TO HIS COUNTRYMEN:

"WHAT do I hear? The British Government have dared to speak of concessions. Would you accept of them? Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British Minister?—a Minister, too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery; who laid your cities waste, and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a Minister, the bane of society and the scourge of mankind? Behold, Irishmen! he holds in his hands the olive of peace! Beware! his other hand lies concealed, armed with a poignard.

"No, Irishmen, no; you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues. Unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you; let his efforts be in vain. Horrid crimes have been perpetrated on your country: your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion to your cause—their shadows are around you, and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death—it is your duty to strike, on their blood-cemented thrones, the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals, Irishmen! Wage a war of extermination against your oppressors—the war of liberty against tyranny—and liberty shall triumph.* J. N. TANDY."

* Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, Appendix, p. 170.

The following paper is the portion of the document produced on the trial of the Sheares, by the crown prosecutor, found in the house of Henry Sheares, and written by his brother.

[The words in *italics* were interlined, those between crotchets were struck across with a pen.]

"Irishmen,

["Your country is free; *all* those monsters who usurped the *its* government to oppress its people are in our hands, except such as have]

"Your country is free, *& you are about to be avenged.* [*Already*] That vile government which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of it's most Atrocious Monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, & the rest are in our hands [waiting their fate] The National Flag, *the sacred Green,* is at this moment flying over the ruins of Despotism, and that Capital, which a few hours past [was the scene] witnessed the debauchery the [machinations *plots* & crimes of your Tyrants is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism *& virtue.* Arise then, United Sons of Ireland: Arise like a great & powerful people, determined [to be] *live* free or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that [in disarming your enemy] *for every enemy you disarm,* you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of Liberty inaction is Cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect: let his arms be seized and transferred to those gallant [patriots] *spirits* who want

& will use them. Yes Irishmen, we swear by that eternal Justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle and the family of him who *has fallen or* shall fall hereafter [fall] in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation *an ample recompense* out of [those funds] *that property,* which the crimes of our enemies [shall] *have* forfeited into it's hands, *&* his name [too] shall be inscribed on the *great* national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity, *but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death & infamy.*

"We also swear that we will never sheathe the sword until every [peasant] *being in the country* is restored to those equal rights, which the God of Nature has given to all men;—until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the Citizens of Erin, but that [which] *of* virtue & talent [shall entitle to]. [As for those degenerate Wretches who turn their swords against their Native Country, the national vengeance awaits them. Let them find no quarter unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily [deserting] *exchanging* [from the standard of Slavery for that of Freedom, under which *their former errors may be buried &* they [shall] *may* share the glory & advantages [that await] *due to* the Patriot Bands of Ireland]. Rouse all the energies of your souls. Call forth all the merit *& abilities* which a vicious Government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare

of a [mercenary] *hired* Soldiery *or aristocratic yeomanry,* they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freemen. [Close with them, Man to Man, and let them feel what vigour the cause of Freedom can] Their trappings & their arms will soon be your's, and the detested Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures [she] *it* exhausts on [their mercenary] *its accoutered* Slaves for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their Swords on it's devoted head.

"Attack them in every direction by day & by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, *which are innumerable* & with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose *them* in full force, constantly harrass their rear & their flanks, cut off their provisions & magazines, and prevent them as much as possible from uniting their forces. *Let* whatever moments you cannot [pass in] *devote to* fighting for your country,

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"Many of the military feel the love of Liberty glow within their breasts, & [are] *have* already [to] joined the National Standard. Receive [those] with open arms *such as shall follow so glorious an example:* they can render signal service to the cause *of Freedom* & shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the Wretch who turns his sword against his native Country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter. Two other crimes demand

be [devoted to] *passed* in learning how to fight for it, *or preparing the means of war:* for War, War alone must occupy every mind & every hand in Ireland: until it's long oppressed soil be purged of all it's enemies.

"Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your Oppressors. Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their [murderous plots] *merciless* [*their cruel*] orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember Orr."

This violent and most infuriated production is the composition of a man phrenzied by political excitement. Before we pronounce it to be the production, however, of a man of a mind naturally malevolent, sanguinary and vindictive, we must take the madness of the times into account; and we should compare this document with some of the proclamations that preceded it on the other side, issued under circumstances which admitted of more leisure for calm consideration.

General Lake's proclamation may be too well known to need to be referred to. But those issued by persons of less notoriety, and whose threatened terrors were of a less extensive nature, it would be requisite to take under consideration. The following one published in the Belfast newspapers, on the 11th of July, 1798, is a specimen of the documents to which I allude:—

"To the Inhabitants of Belfast.

"This is to give notice, that if any person is taken up by the patrols after ten o'clock, he will be fined five shillings, for the benefit of the poor. If the delinquent is not able to pay five shillings, he will be brought to a drum-head court-martial, and will receive 100 lashes. James Derham,

"Colonel-commandant." *

On the second of July, we find another notice published by order of the same colonel-commandant, calling on the inhabitants to deliver up, or take steps for the discovery of a prisoner of the name of William Kean, who had escaped from the provost, in the following terms:—

"And shall it be found hereafter that said traitor has been concealed by any person or persons, or by the knowledge or connivance of any person or persons of this town and its neighbourhood, or that they, or any of them, have known of the place of his concealment, and shall not have given notice thereof to the commandant of this town, such person's house shall be burned, and the owner thereof hanged."

It was little imagined—if the man had been discovered who harboured Kean, and walked with him arm-in-arm to the quay, in the disguise of a sailor, when he was put on board a vessel for America, where he had the good fortune to arrive in safety—the colonel would have been under the painful necessity of burning the house of an Orangeman, and hanging a very worthy ultra-loyalist on this occasion,

* History of Belfast, p. 491.

for such was the person who had the generosity to incur this risk,—for one of his political enemies.

If Mr. Grattan, in 1800, was justified in saying "I think now as I thought then, (1798,) that the treason of the minister against the liberties of the people, was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister,"* we must conclude that there were acts committed, which were calculated to make "men feel more than they can reason," and to goad men of greater moderation than John Sheares into madness.

What was the feeling that prompted Lord Clare to attempt to involve Grattan in the guilty knowledge of a treasonable conspiracy, when he proposed to have his old political opponent brought before the Council? Which of the forms of deadly hatred did this act come under? In Grattan's life by his son, it is distinctly stated such a proposition was made by the chancellor.

Was it the public good, or personal animosity, that caused him to interpose between Lord Cornwallis and his nephew, when one of the individuals for whom supplication was made, the unfortunate Henry Sheares, was held responsible for a paper, of the existence of which he was ignorant previously to his arrest?

There is a distinction, indeed, between violence on paper and vindictiveness in action, and when the latter assumes the mask of public zeal, the power of doing mischief to its opponents gives it an accumulative criminality.

* Debate on the Union, Feb. 14, 1800.

The culpability of the paper written by John Sheares cannot be denied, and it ought not to be defended. But it would be a suppression of truth, that the above admission does not warrant, to withhold the fact, that from every one of the surviving friends and acquaintances of John Sheares, whom I have communicated with and sought information from, respecting his character for humanity—the uniform reply to my enquiries was to this effect, that one of the most striking features in his character, was the exhibition of a natural tenderness of disposition in all his private and social relations.

When the apprehension of the other leaders drew him into the vortex of revolution, and he became a member of the new directory in the month of March, the affairs of the United Irishmen were in a desperate state; and it seemed all but madness, after Lord Edward Fitzgerald's arrest, to proceed further in their plans. When they lost him, the "prestige" of their cause was gone. Nevertheless, those of their leaders who were at large, were still sanguine of success, and they prevailed on John Sheares to become the chief member of the directory. It was at this period that the free-quarters system was in full force—that the nation was declared out of the king's peace, and the whole military force of the country was let loose upon the people. During the short time the affairs of the Union were committed to the chief guidance of John Sheares, his exertions were incessant. In fact, the labours he endured and the difficulties he encountered (in the words of Maria Steele), "over-

set his mind." From the month of March he was no longer the same man, in his personal appearance, manners, or conversation. He was grave, thoughtful, and reserved—absent in discourse, and flurried in his demeanour.

In this perturbed state of mind, he penned the scrawl which is called "his sanguinary Proclamation." It is impossible to say, in the many changes that composition had undergone, what definitive shape it would have assumed, had it ever been completed for putting forth. But, as it exists, it is to be remembered that it is a garbled document, and ought not to be considered separately from those parts of it, which the dying man asserts were taken from it, and which were deemed by him essential to its true sense and meaning. In the few hours afforded him for reflection, after his conviction, he seized the opportunity of disclaiming the sanguinary intentions ascribed to him. If I believed he was capable of acting on the sentiments of that paper, as they were interpreted by the attorney-general, no earthly motive would induce me to perform the task I have undertaken, in putting together these memorials of him. On this subject, I have only one further observation to make, with regard to the implication of Henry Sheares in the knowledge and possession of this paper.

I have already adverted to the evidence of John Sheares's old friend and associate, Mr. Casey: he speaks of him as one habitually earnest in truth. The love of truth was one of the prominent characteristics ascribed to him by Miss Steele.

On the application made for the postponement of the trial, an affidavit was sworn to by the crown solicitor, Mr. Kemmis, stating that he believed the application was made for the purpose of delay. With that earnestness which Mr. Casey ascribed to his veracity, he protested against the imputation: he said, "I am incapable of stating, even on my trial for my life, what I do not believe to be true."

He did state on his trial, that the writing-box in which that paper was found, was his. It might be imagined, he incurred all the danger arising from this admission, for the purpose of saving the life of a beloved brother.

But is it likely, in his last moments, disclosing all the secret feelings of his heart to his favourite sister, that he would deem it necessary to deceive her. "Heaven is my witness," he says, "how assiduously I sought to keep aloof, in any of my political concerns, from him."

The following account of a conversation, previously to the trial, with both brothers on the subject of this paper, I received from the sister of Mr. Henry Fleming. Mr. Fleming was allowed to visit them at Kilmainham, and on one of those occasions, Henry Sheares told him, "that till the day of the arrest, he knew nothing of the paper that was found in the desk. John informed Mr. Fleming, it was written by him on several scraps of paper, on the previous evening, after his brother and Mrs. Sheares had retired to rest, and he declared that several parts were not produced on the trial, which very much altered the sense of the document; and had it been produced

in its integrity, it would have tended much to mitigate the violence of that part which alone was allowed to appear."

He likewise mentioned a circumstance to Mr. Fleming, which though not connected with the subject of the paper, ought not to be omitted. He said: "about an hour after his imprisonment in the Castle guardroom, the day of his arrest, Captain Armstrong paid him a visit, and expressed great concern at seeing him in confinement, and readiness to be of any use to him. He talked about his papers, and said if he would entrust him with his keys, he would seek out any papers that might be of importance, and convey them to any of his friends he might wish them in the hands of, immediately; or, if he thought there might be any in his desk which might in any way criminate him, he would bring them away. For the first time, John Sheares said, the suspicion flashed across his mind that this man was not honest, and he declined to give his keys."

In the report of the secret committee of the Commons, presented by Lord Castlereagh, the preparation of which was committed to his lordship, this paper is inserted in the Appendix, No. 20, and is headed thus: "The following paper, found by Alderman Alexander in a box *in the possession of Mr. Sheares.*" The object of this attempt to involve Henry Sheares, the elder brother, in the guilt of this document, is too wicked to be passed unnoticed.

The judge who summed up the evidence on the trial, in commenting on that part of it relating to this document, said "it did not appear whose pro-

perty that writing-box was, or to which of the prisoners the house belonged." But, with respect to Henry Sheares's knowledge of this paper, granting that he might have been cognizant of its existence, in the absence of all evidence of that fact, would an English jury in a case of treason, have convicted, on the discovery of such a document in the house of a prisoner, when that paper was proved to be in the handwriting of another living under the same roof? In an English court of justice, would the judge have left the matter to their determination, as one admitting of any doubt?—would he not have told them it was no evidence against the prisoner?—unless, indeed, the general charge of conspiracy could be so clearly brought home to both the parties, that the papers found on one were clearly corroborative of the fact of the knowledge of it on the part of both.

In the case of the elder Watson, a number of treasonable papers, military plans, a drawing of the Tower, &c., were offered in evidence against the prisoner. The papers were in the handwriting of the younger Watson. Mr. Wetherall "objected to their being received, unless it could be shewn they were written by the elder Watson, or positively adopted by him, as they were not found in his possession."

Lord Ellenborough said, "they might be evidence against the son though not against the father, unless in the furtherance of an object common to both."

On other papers of a similar kind offered in evidence, Mr. Serjeant Copley contended, "that the present case, came precisely within the meaning of

Sydney's case. A book written by him, was found in his closet, unpublished; that book was produced, but it was ruled that it could not be taken in evidence against him, but only as a declaration of his political opinions. The present paper contained an opinion—on a military question—as the other did on a civil one, and as far as evidence, was only speculative, never intended to be acted upon."

Lord Ellenborough said: "The difference was evident between this case and Sidney's. The only question here was, to shew how it conduced to give effect to the plans and operations of the prisoners. There was no proof that the paper had been circulated, or that it was intended to circulate any of them among the soldiers. The court, in a case like this, would lean to the prisoner. At present, in his opinion, the document was, unless more evidence was produced, too abstract to be received."

The rest of the court agreed in this opinion, and the paper was rejected.

How extraordinary a difference in the administration, execution, and interpretation of the laws, in two countries supposed to enjoy the privileges of the same constitution!

CHAPTER XIII.

The solemnity and decorum with which the trials for high treason were conducted in England in those times, compared with the summary course of judicial proceedings, and the indecent haste with which similar trials were hurried through in Ireland, form a striking contrast. The trial of John Horne Tooke, in 1794, lasted six days. The trial of Thomas Hardy, lasted seven days. The trial of the Sheares, commenced on the 12th of July 1798, at ten o'clock, and it terminated at eight o'clock the following morning. The court then adjourned till three o'clock, when sentence was pronounced; and the next day, the 14th, the prisoners were executed!

These were, indeed, summary proceedings. At the trial, when the defence was gone into, the court, the jury, the council and the prisoners, were completely exhausted; a few hours for repose, or rather recollection, were prayed for by the prisoners' council, but the inexorable Toler would hear of no delay.

These things did not happen in the Middle Ages, nor in a Turkish province, but within the term of five-and-forty years, in the sister kingdom!

Previously to trial, the Sheares had been confined in Kilmainham jail; on their conviction they were sent to Newgate. In the interval between their conviction and sentence being passed upon them, Mr. Curran was permitted to see them. The moment he entered their cell, John Sheares threw himself on his knees, caught hold of Mr. Curran's hand, and in the most earnest terms, implored of him to endeavour to obtain a remission of his brother's sentence. He asked for no interference of his friends for himself; his only prayer was for the preservation of his brother's life. Curran described this interview, as one of the most heart-rending he had ever witnessed. Henry Sheares manifested, on this occasion, a state of mind which clearly shewed how unexpected the event had been to him, and how unprepared he was to meet it.

It was customary, at this period, to report the words and actions of the unfortunate persons who were delivered up to justice, to suffer its extreme penalty, as it suited the views of the dominant faction, to promote their objects, by throwing obloquy on their opponents. I speak not of the government, but of the faction which dominated in all its departments. The war which Orangeism waged, was with truth, as well as humanity. Some of the victims were made, in their last moments, to attribute their misfortunes to their creed; others, to implicate their clergy in their guilt. Colclough was made to repudiate the doctrine of his church, Clinch to have uttered among some unintelligible words, the name of Harold, and this was a sufficient ground for sus-

pecting a priest of that name, and realizing that suspicion, so far as the transportation of that clergyman sufficed to effect that object. The Sheares were represented as cowards in their deaths, as well as traitors; as having offered to make disclosures, dishonourable even to traitors, to save their lives. —Every lie that is likely to pass current with the public, must have a certain alloy of truth to give the colour of what it simulates, to its baseness.

With respect to John Sheares, the imputation is without the slightest foundation. In regard to the offer to make disclosures, which, it is insinuated, would compromise their associates, the superstructure falsehood is raised upon a speck of truth. An offer had been made by Henry (in his letter to Sir Jonah Barrington,) "to lie under any terms," if the government would remit his sentence. All the other state prisoners who entered into a compact with government, likewise agreed to make disclosures; they too, lay "under terms" which procured their liberation; but they betrayed none of their associates: neither did Henry Sheares propose to betray his, and as for his brother, he made no proposal at all. Henry Sheares, indeed, little expected the fate which awaited him; he had not the least idea there was any thing in the evidence which could convict him. The verdict of guilty fell like a thunderbolt upon him. The thought of being torn from his dear wife and children, of leaving them fatherless, friendless and penniless, overwhelmed his feelings. He was greatly moved at the moment of conviction, and at that of execution, he was un-

manned. In the opinion of Lord Clare, he was "a coward:" it was cowardice, with that implacable person, for the doomed man to shudder at the prospect of an ignominious end, and the consequences of an attainder, at leaving a beloved wife in penury, and six helpless children without bread. He was not, indeed, a man of his brother's frame of mind. His proper sphere was the family circle, in which his chief delights were centred. His nature did not fit him for the strife of parties, to lead other men, "to ride upon the storm and direct the whirlwind" of revolution.

The bearing of John Sheares, from the time of his apprehension to the termination of his sufferings, was that of a man whose mind was made up to his fate, and prepared to meet it. There was no foolhardy bravado in his deportment, no unbecoming levity or obduracy of feeling, manifested or affected by him. He spoke of his approaching fate to the officials of the prison, with calmness and resignation; and that coolness of determination and firmness of purpose, of which his features were indicative, were manifested in his conduct to the last, and on the most terrible of all occasions.

If the reader ascribes this demeanour to a hardened disposition, he need only peruse his letters to his family, and contrast the fervid feelings of attachment to his "dear, dear, mother,"—to "his beloved Julia,"—to his "darling Sally,"—of anxiety about his "poor dear Harry,"—of anguish of mind, bordering on distraction, when his hopes for that brother's safety is gone, with the calm and unshaken mien with

which he met his fate. Those who were about him were no admirers of his political principles; but some of them, still surviving, admit that his bearing was that of a man who seemed worthy of a better fate.

Mr. Buchanan, the British consul at New York, informed me that he was present at the trial and execution of the brothers. Mr. Buchanan belonged to the Dublin Loyal Cavalry corps, and was then on duty in Green-street; and it is unnecessary to say the sympathies of the military gentlemen of that corps were not much on the side of the Sheares. But Buchanan was not insensible to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, even while duty compelled him to assist in his military capacity, at the frightful scenes which marked the course of judicial vengeance in those times. On one occasion, Buchanan had the humanity to afford an asylum in his house to a man of the name of Dennison, who claimed his protection. The man's life was in jeopardy; and he was indebted to Buchanan for it. Toler became acquainted with the circumstance, and he pressed Buchanan to give him up to *justice*. But he refused to do so: to use the words of this worthy man to me, in relating the circumstances, "I said, 'I would keep him on the Arab principle;' and I did not break faith with the fellow. I had saved many before, and served others of them since." He had obtained leave for Sampson to visit Ireland; but it was given with some conditions which Sampson thought invidious, and he therefore did not avail himself of it; a former application had been made for him and refused.

At the trial, when John Sheares addressed the court on behalf of his brother, Mr. Buchanan was present. "His voice," he says, "was firm—his words were pronounced with great clearness and distinctness—his language was eloquent and most pathetic." The impression it made on Mr. Buchanan's mind, was conveyed to me in these terms, "As long as I live, I never shall forget it!" He had been informed by Mr. T. Colley Grattan, that the brothers had been to his father's house the preceding evening, and their motions, previous to their apprehension, must have been watched, for Mr. Grattan's house was searched by the military, as he supposed, in consequence of their visit to it.

I have already adverted to Lord Carleton, the chief justice of the common pleas, who presided at the trial of the Sheares, being the townsman and one of the most intimate friends of their father. A very erroneous impression had gone abroad, at the period of their trial—that his lordship had been left the guardian of his friend's children, and this belief prevails to the present day. *

* In the course of the many enquiries which it was necessary for me to make, respecting the subjects of this memoir, I have been frequently perplexed and surprised, at the many instances which came to my notice, of persons confounding their impressions of circumstances from the relation of others, with their actual knowledge of facts, of which they were personally cognizant themselves. These statements, indeed, required very close, and even laborious investigation. It was necessary to test them by every kind of documentary evidence that could be depended on, and was attainable. I can conscientiously state, I have spared no trouble to get information on these matters that could be relied on.

The error with regard to Lord Carleton, there is reason to believe, had much to do with the death of that excellent nobleman Lord Kilwarden, in 1803. The survivors of those who took a part in that conspiracy, attribute the murderous attack, in the first instance, to the diabolical malice of a ruffian, in the ranks of the insurgents, whose brother had been capitally convicted before Lord Kilwarden. When his lordship's carriage was stopped in Thomas-street, on that fatal evening, on being surrounded by the insurgents, he was recognized by the individual I have alluded to; the general impression was, that the equipage was that of the commander-in-chief. The name of the latter, it is said, reached his lordship's ears, and he thought, his own name (and well might he have thought so!) was one which the people had a right to respect—for he cried out to his assailants, "Kilwarden, the chief justice!" At that moment he received the first pike-wound, from the hand of the ruffian who had recognized him. But the words "chief justice," were those only which were caught by the multitude, and they believed that the person who had fallen into their power, was Lord Carleton, the chief justice of the common pleas. The latter was particularly obnoxious to the people, on account of his supposed relation to the Sheares; and, notwithstanding his obligations to their father, as the supposed guardian of his children, having presided at their trial. This was, and still is, the opinion of persons yet living, who witnessed Lord Kilwarden's death, and all the injuries he received subsequent to the first wound, inflicted by the person who had recognized him, they

believed were occasioned by the erroneous impression which generally prevailed amongst those infuriated wretches, as to the victim who had fallen into their hands. Equally erroneous was the opinion so widely diffused, that Lord Carleton was the guardian of Henry and John Sheares.

On examining the will of the father of Henry and John Sheares, at the Prerogative Court, Dublin, I found no mention whatever made of Lord Carleton; but the care of his children was committed to the kindness of "his dear friend, Richard, earl of Shannon"—and the particular charge entrusted to him was, to see that unanimity and affection always prevailed amongst them.

How, then, could those even intimately acquainted with the sons, confound Lord Carleton with the Earl of Shannon? "Richard Boyle, Earl of Shannon, was created *Baron Carleton in England*, in 1786." There can be little doubt but that, in the strange confusion of names and titles, which sometimes get jumbled together in Irish genealogies, the Irish chief justice, Lord Carleton, was confounded with the Earl of Shannon, Baron Carleton of the English peerage.

The account given by Sir Jonah Barrington, of the efforts made by him with Lord Clare on behalf of Henry Sheares, and his views of the conduct of Lord Clare, and of the demeanour of the elder Sheares, with respect to the application to him, are deserving of attention. The motives of the place-hunting Sir Jonah, at the period of his writing this account (the publication of which he delayed for so many

years) in giving a false colouring to the conduct of Lord Clare, and seeking to depreciate the characters of persons so obnoxious to him, are too evident to be mistaken. He gives his lordship credit for proposing to stay the execution, at the very time he well knew it was about to be carried into effect; and sending him to Newgate, to make enquiries of Henry Sheares about disclosures, instead of making him (Sir Jonah) the bearer of instructions to the sheriff, to delay the execution pending these enquiries. He tells us, Lord Clare desired him to return to him at the Castle; and when he does return, his lordship had taken effectual measures to prevent the admission of Sir Jonah:—"*orders had been given, that nobody should be admitted without a written permission.*" Mr. Cooke likewise kept out of Sir Jonah's way. At length, when the time was past for preserving the life of the unfortunate man, the secretary brought out an order for a respite to Sir Jonah. It is not to be presumed, that a moment would have been lost by Sir Jonah in hurrying to the gaol, to deliver such an order to the sheriffs; for, as to his anxious desire to preserve the life of Henry Sheares, there can be no doubt,—and when he arrives, the execution is over: the hangman is holding up the head of his unfortunate friend, Henry Sheares!

What an extraordinary proof Sir Jonah gives of Lord Clare's amiability, on the occasion of his shewing to him the letter of Henry Sheares: "He never saw him amiable before;" "he was moved;" "his heart yielded;" Sir Jonah "improved on the

impression:" "He (Lord Clare) only said—'What a coward he is!'"

How does Sir Jonah's account of Lord Clare's presumed ignorance of the hour appointed for the execution, tally with the statements given in a Cork paper—of the sheriffs arriving at Newgate at 12 o'clock; of the application of the prisoners for a respite, "for at least one of them;" of one of the sheriffs having the humanity to proceed to the Castle (where the council was then sitting) with the application; of its being refused; of a second delay being accorded by the sheriffs, to give time for another application to the government; and of the refusal of that one likewise?

But there are proofs of Lord Clare's direct interference, to prevent the remission of the sentence on the part of Lord Cornwallis, which place the conduct of his lordship, in the part he acted with Barrington, in a very odious light. In the interval between the conviction and execution of the brothers, many efforts were made by their friends, and seconded by the most powerful influence in various quarters, to obtain a remission of their sentence. The following particulars on the subject of these efforts, were communicated to me in writing by Maria Steele. Previously to my referring to her account, it is necessary to allude to a circumstance, to shew from what source the information of that amiable lady was obtained, which is herein given.

The nephew of Lord Cornwallis, Horatio Cornwallis, a young gentleman of great promise, then serving with his regiment in Ireland, some time

previously to this period, had met Miss Steele in society. The object of general admiration, was soon one of more than ordinary interest to Horatio Cornwallis—in fact, he became strongly attached to her, and was looked upon as the rival of John Sheares. The strength of this attachment can best be appreciated, by the influence which the subsequent impediments to the realization of his wishes had upon his health and spirits. It is not necessary for me to enter further on this subject, than to say, that Horatio Cornwallis died in England, about the year 1802 or 1803. Previously to the execution of the Sheares, at the urgent entreaty of Maria Steele, he interfered for them with his uncle, Lord Cornwallis. His efforts on behalf of one of the brothers, whom he knew to be the *devoted* admirer of the same object who had won his own affections, may well be styled generous; and with these few explanatory remarks, I give this statement in the words of Maria Steele.

"Long before conviction, Lord Cornwallis expressed a strong desire to save their lives; and said, he did not like that his first act here should be a sanguinary one. After the conviction, when his nephew, Horatio Cornwallis (at the entreaty of a friend of John Sheares, who had also great influence over Horatio Cornwallis) knelt at his uncle's feet to implore his mercy, and was on the point of obtaining it—at that very moment Lord Clare, who was present, said, that if he failed in making this example, loyal men, who awaited his decision as a

test of what they were to expect from him, would withhold their confidence, &c. All he said I do not now remember, though it was faithfully repeated to me. Lord Cornwallis's wishes were to save their lives, and send them out of Ireland, as other men were to be thus disposed of. Great efforts were also made by his family: Mrs. Sheares (Henry's wife) sat in a sedan chair, almost the whole of the 13th of July, on Lord Clare's steps, and at length saw him, and fell at his feet, and clasped his knees —but she failed. *Perhaps,* he could not have saved them at that time. Horatio Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain an interview with his uncle, for Julia Sheares, but was prevented by Lord Clare's creatures, who at that time filled the court: a memorial was also delivered by Horace to his uncle—but the same powerful influence defeated it. The only friend he saw after conviction, besides one of his counsel, was Dr. Dobbin, a clergyman of great worth, who had been his tutor at one time in college. He wrote three letters—to his mother, his sister, and one other person. He seemed indifferent to his own fate, but agonized at that of his brother. His speech in court, between conviction and sentence, expressed his real feelings. Lord Carleton, who was the judge on the trial, had been the particular friend of the father of the Sheares. Previous to passing sentence, he made a pathetic address, in which he mentioned the regard and respect he had ever felt for both parents. His cousin, the late Oliver Carleton, told me that, on

his return home, after having passed sentence, he wept, and was obliged to go to bed."

The sister of the Messrs. Fleming, the friends and relatives of the Sheares, to whom I have already referred, as having given me many particulars respecting the brothers, has communicated the following circumstance of most mournful interest.

"The Earl of Shannon was a relative and intimate friend of old Mrs. Sheares, and the day of her son's execution, of which she was then ignorant, his lordship went to see her; a most melancholy scene, as may be supposed, occurred between them. She threw herself on her knees to implore his mediation for her younger son, at the time not knowing that her son Henry was implicated or had been imprisoned, having been told that he had been advised to keep out of the way for some time, and was actually expecting him home that evening. The earl left the house, not being able to tell her they had *been both executed* that morning."

Soon after Lord Shannon's departure, these dreadful tidings were gradually broken to her, first of the execution of John, and subsequently of the apprehension of her eldest son, and of his ultimate fate likewise. It was in the interval between the visit to her of Lord Shannon, when she was yet ignorant of the execution having taken place, and was even expecting Henry's momentary return, and the final communication to her of his death, that it was feared her anguish of mind, would overpower her reason. The following lines, little deserving, indeed, of the name of poetry, have reference to that period of her extreme affliction.

The Widow's Sons are dead and gone :—
And yet she thinks she has but lost,
Her youngest and her fav'rite one,
The child she loved and cherished most.

They dare not tell her both are dead,
But leave a hope that one survives ;
And though they speak with doubt and dread,
She clings to that last hope, and lives.

She wonders why he keeps away,
But by and bye, he will come home ;
She talks of him, the live-long day,
And asks, "Will Harry never come ?"

Ah Julia ! what a task was thine,
To raise this hope, and feel with pain
The light of peace would never shine
Upon thy mother's heart again.

Alas ! while thy affecting tones
Would sooth that mother's aching breast,
With thine, despair itself communes,
And grief must be its future guest.

Still must thou hear the ceaseless cry—
"Will Harry never, never come ?"
—— T'were better thy responding sigh
Should tell her he was in the tomb.

But what no words of thine can speak,
Thy drooping form and failing strength,
The fading bloom upon thy cheek,
Reveal to her sad soul at length.

'Tis not the calm of grief subdued,
Has settled on that aged face;
The stillness there is like the mood
Of madness stealing on apace.

Unmindful of her former cares,
The mourner sits in trance of thought,
And gazes on the vacant chairs
As if the Sons were there she sought.

She weeps not though the scene is sad,
The cheerful circle wrapped in gloom;
The house where all of late looked glad,
No longer seems to her like home.

The breath of summer brings no glow
Of genial heat, or life to cheer
The close of one long scene of woe,
And brighten its last prospect here!

The wintry night is dark and drear,
But deeper gloom its pall has spread
On that lone Mother's heart, for there
Life's fondest, proudest hope, lies dead.

Oh! why cannot the breaking heart,
To struggle with such anguish cease,
And drooping life at once depart,
When thus bereft of all its peace?

We seem to know not why the best
Of human beings should abide
The direst evils, while the least
And last in worth, are left untried?

But more than reason serves to shew,
That every purpose of our God
Is wise and good :—come weal or woe,
The best are better by his rod.

The following is the account of Sir Jonah Barrington, referred to in the preceding pages :—

"The removal of the troops into the camps of Laughlinston, gave rise to one of the most melancholy episodes of this history. At Laughlinston (seven miles from Dublin), some thousand men, mostly Irish militia, were encamped by Lord Carhampton. The United Irishmen sent emissaries to the camp; and disaffection was rapidly proceeding amongst the troops. It was disclosed to government by a Captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, who also did what his feelings should have imperatively prohibited. He was prevailed on at the Castle to ingratiate himself as a brother conspirator amongst the higher classes of the conspirators; and to gain proofs of their guilt through their confidence in his fidelity. He was induced to become evidence, even to death, against those whose culpability he had encouraged, and attend to execution the very gentlemen whom he made victims to their confidence in his integrity.

"Of Mr. Reynolds and his brother conspirator, Armstrong, the former had been disaffected, and might have informed—at least, under the semblance of compunction. He was in humble life; the United Irishmen had first seduced him into their society, and he became terrified at its consequences. Captain Armstrong wormed himself into the confidence of the

rebels, with the design of betraying them: his treachery was pre-organized; and he proved himself as competent a conspirator as those whom he had made his victims. He had the honour of an officer, and the integrity of a gentleman to sustain; yet he deliberately sacrificed both, and saw two gentlemen executed by his treachery.

"Mr. Henry and John Sheares were of the Irish bar, and of a respectable family. Henry, the elder, had a competent fortune, and was an excellent domestic character, with a most amiable family; he had received a university education, but was not possessed of talents—plain and friendly, occasionally warm—generally credulous—and always full of prejudices—his mind was never strong enough to resist his feelings; and though unexceptionable in character, he had neither capacity, firmness, nor discretion, for a public life. Personally, he was not remarkable, except that a mark of red wine covered his left cheek. The younger brother, John, was tall, fair, handsome, and of gentlemanly address. His countenance was sensible, and firm to inflexibility; but not amiable, and far from prepossessing. He was well educated, but mistook the phrases of republicanism for a power of writing in its defence, and of being a leader in its cause. With many qualities of a tyrant, and with much more talent than his brother, he guided him at his discretion, and finally led him to his destruction. They were inseparable as brothers, and were united by an almost unparalleled attachment.

"Mr. John Sheares, upon the arrest of the other dictators, became one of the executive directory of

the United Irishmen, and, as a necessary consequence, Henry was a participator in the treason, and aided in procuring emissaries to seduce the troops at Laughlinston. There Captain Armstrong became acquainted with the two brothers—pledged to them his friendship—persuaded them he would seduce his regiment—gained their implicit confidence—faithfully fulfilled the counterplot—devised several secret meetings—and worked up sufficient guilt to sacrifice the lives of both. They were arrested—tried—on his evidence convicted, and were hanged and beheaded in the front of Newgate. They came hand-in-hand to the scaffold: Henry died without firmness—the brother met his death with sufficient fortitude. This was one of the most interesting trials in Ireland. Henry might have been pardoned; but it was impossible to mitigate the fate of the brother.*

"It is only justice to Lord Clare, to record an incident which proves that he was susceptible of humane feelings, and which often led me to believe, that his nature might have been noble, had not every compunctious visiting been absorbed by that ambition, the final disappointment of which, at last, caused his death.

* "There never was a more affecting picture of a feeble, agonized mind, at the approach of a violent death, than in the annexed facsimile. Had but three hours been granted for the unhappy culprit's preparation for his fate, he would have been respited. Lord Clare was disposed to act with great humanity towards this amiable but misguided man, having discovered that he was utterly ignorant of the sanguinary proclamation, which was found in his secretaire—he had never seen it."—Memoirs of the Irish Union, by Sir Jonah Barrington, vol. ii. p. 266.

"By some unfortunate delay, a letter of Henry Sheares was not delivered to me till eleven o'clock, on the morning after the trial. I immediately waited on Lord Clare; he read it with great attention; I saw he was moved, his heart yielded. I improved on the impression; he only said, 'What a coward he is! but what can we do?'—he paused—'John Sheares cannot be spared. Do you think Henry can say anything, or make any species of discovery, which can authorize the Lord Lieutenant in making a distinction between them?—if so, Henry may be reprieved.' He read the letter again, and was obviously affected. I had never seen him amiable before. 'Go,' said he, 'to the prison, see Henry Sheares, ask him this question and return to me at Cooke's office.' I lost no time; but I found on my arrival, that orders had been given, that nobody should be admitted without a written permission. I returned to the Castle, they were all at council. Cooke was not at his office; I was delayed. At length the secretary returned, gave me the order, I hastened to Newgate and arrived at the very moment the executioner was holding up the head of my friend, and saying 'Here is the head of a traitor!'"

Letter from Counsellor Henry Sheares, to Sir Jonah Barrington, a few hours before his execution.

"My dearest Friend,

"The dreadful die is cast; fly, I beseech you, to the Chancellor, and save a man whose fate will kill his family. Oh! my dearest friend, my whole dependence is on you. Tell the Lord Chancellor, I

will pray for him for ever, and that the government shall ever find me what they wish. Oh! my family, my wife, my children, my mother; go to them, let them throw themselves at the Chancellor's and Lord Shannon's feet. Those papers which were found in my office have ruined me; you know, my dear friend! I had nothing to do with them; you know I never was an advocate for violence or blood. I have been duped, misled, deceived, but with all the wishes and intentions to do good. My principles were never for violence, my nature is soft to a fault, my whole happiness is centred in my beloved, my adored family; with them I will go to America, if the government will allow me, or I will stay here and be the most zealous friend they have. Tell the Lord Chancellor, I depend upon the goodness of his nature; that I will atone for what is past, by a life, regular, temperate and domestic. Oh! speak to him of my poor wretched family, my distracted wife, and my helpless children; snatch them from the dreadful horrors which await them, and save the life of your truest friend. I will lie under any conditions the government may chuse to impose on me, if they will but restore me to my family. Desire my mother to go to Lord Shannon immediately, and my wife to the Lord Chancellor. We are to receive sentence at three o'clock. Fly, I beseech you, and save a man, who will never cease to pray for you, to serve you.

"Let me hear from you, my dear fellow, as quick as possible.

"God bless you.

"Newgate, 8 o'Clock."

Comments are needless on the preceding statement. The efforts of Sir Jonah Barrington to give a favourable impression of Lord Clare's conduct on this occasion, are as unsuccessful as his own exertions proved in behalf of his unfortunate friend.

In the "New Cork Evening Post," one of the ascendancy journals of that time, of 23rd July, 1798, the following account is given of the execution of the brothers. At twelve o'clock, the time appointed for the execution, "when the sheriffs arrived, the prisoners entreated them to be the bearers of a supplication to government for a short respite, in consideration of which, they offered to make the most useful discoveries. This message being carried to the Castle, government being already possessed of complete information of every thing which the Sheares could discover, refused to grant the respite. Upon this refusal, a new supplication was made, in the most abject terms, entreating a respite till Monday, for *at least* one of them. Of this message, the sheriffs were humane enough to be also the bearers, but returned with a second refusal. At this repeated disappointment, *the prisoners* were most dreadfully shaken; but upon being directed to prepare for death, made a sudden and short effort by mutual encouragement to rouse themselves. In the interval between the reply to their last message and the execution, the clerical gentleman who attended, continued to exhort them to full repentance and disclosure of their crimes. Henry declared that his object was reform, and that he never had intended to excite indiscriminate massacre. John made the

same declaration, and said, I hope this example will have the effect it is intended to have. I fear it will not. Government little know whom they ought to execute. The Reverend Mr. Gamble, alarmed at the uncharitable tendency of these words, asked if they died in charity with all men? They replied that they did. *While the executioner was fitting the rope, he, by some awkwardness, pressed the neck of Henry Sheares,* who, with a degree of asperity and violence ill-suited to his situation, cried out 'D—n you, you scoundrel, do you mean to strangle me before my time?' They requested that they might not continue long exposed to the gaze of the multitude; and having each an halter fixed round his neck and a cap drawn over his face, holding by each other's hand, they tottered out upon the platform in front of the prison. *In making the rope fast within, John Sheares was hauled up to the block of the tackle,* and continued nearly a minute suspended alone before the platform fell. It did fall, and instantly both were suspended. After hanging about twenty minutes, they were, at a quarter after three o'clock, let down into the street, when the hangman separated their heads from their bodies, and taking the heads* severally up, proclaimed 'Behold the head of a traitor!' In the evening, the trunks and heads were taken away in two shells, provided by a respectable gentleman, unhappily connected with one of the brothers." †

In the interval between conviction and execution,

* This part of the statement is incorrect.

† The person alluded to was Mr. Brent Neville, by whom their remains were interred.—R. R. M.

the Reverend Dr. Dobbin was unremitting in his attention to the prisoners. Both of them availed themselves of his pious services, and that good man invariably spoke of their demeanour as being such as befitted their awful situation.

I have been recently informed by the sister of Maria Steele, who was more intimately acquainted with Henry Sheares than with his brother; that in all her intercourse with him "she never heard an observation from his lips of an irreligious tendency." She believed him to be "a moral man, and in his family relation irreproachable as a husband and father."

It was the cruel custom of those times, to make the extreme rigour of the law as terrible as possible to its victims. Their friends were seldom permitted to see them. Whoever has perused the life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, will have noticed the obstacles thrown in the way of the immediate members of his lordship's family, to obtain a private interview with the dying man, and the rigour of that regulation being only relaxed by the exertions in their behalf, of the most powerful influence, when that noble being was in the agony of death.

In the case of the Sheares, no member of their family was allowed to see them.

On Saturday, at midday, they were conducted from their cells to the room adjoining the place of execution. There, as they had done in the dock, when their doom was sealed, they clapsed each other in their arms, and for some minutes the unfortunate Henry seemed utterly stupefied and appalled at the

frightful spectacle before him. He rallied sufficiently to disclaim the sanguinary intentions imputed to him, as John had done, and while still clinging to the latter, he was pushed out on the platform hand-in-hand with his brother. No violence was requisite to bring the other victim to the scaffold; his only fears were for that dear brother, whose death he reproached himself with being the cause of. The last words of John Sheares were—"I forgive the world as I expect to be forgiven." * The brothers died as they had lived, "hand-in-hand." In life and death they were indeed United Brothers.

After the mutilation of their bodies (that remnant of the judicial barbarism of former times), had afforded the requisite satisfaction to offended justice, their remains were borne to the same place of burial, and deposited in one of the vaults of St. Michan's Church.

A small party of the Dublin Loyal Cavalry attended as a guard at the execution. The number of spectators was incalculable.

The unnecessary cruelties inflicted by the executioner on both brothers, previously to their being launched into eternity—but especially the barbarity practised on the younger, as detailed in the preceding account, which is given by those most hostile to them, there is too much reason to believe, were not to be ascribed to the "awkwardness" which is assigned as a reason for part of the unnecessary violence practised on the elder brother. The

* History of the Rebellion by Charles Jackson, p. 68.

amount of violence done to the other, forty-four years after the event, remains still visible on the face and head of John Sheares.

In the church-yard of St. Michan's, the remains of some of their former friends and associates are interred*—those of Bond, and of Dr. William Jackson, whose funeral the Sheares had attended in 1795, and who, for so doing, had incurred the displeasure of Lord Fitzgibbon.

There is some peculiarity in the soil of this place of burial, as well as in the atmosphere of the vaults beneath the church of St. Michan's, the tendency of which is to resist decomposition, and to keep the dead bodies, especially those deposited in the vaults, in a state of preservation the most extraordinary that has come to my knowledge in any country, with the exception of a cemetery in the Island of Sicily, where the same process of embalming, naturally effected, has gone on for centuries.

Bodies, which have been interred for upwards of a century, in St. Michan's, are to be still seen in the vaults, in a state of preservation as perfect as

* The tombstone over the grave of Jackson bears the following inscription:—

"Underneath this Slab are interred the Remains
of the Rev. WILLIAM JACKSON,
Who died the 30th of April, 1795."

The inscription on the stone over Bond's grave is in the following terms:—

"Sacred to the Memory
of
OLIVER BOND, who died the 6th December, 1798,
In the 37th Year of his Age.
The noblest work of God 's an Honest Man."

that of the exsiccated mummies of the humbler classes of the Egyptians, which were preserved by a less expensive process of embalming than that used for persons of distinction.

In this dry and shrivelled state, the integuments remain perfect, the features preserve their character, the hair undergoes no alteration, and the limbs, even, in some degree, retain their shape. One of these bodies, "whose antiquity is of an ancient date," for the tenants of European sepulchres, is still existing in the same vault in which the Sheares' remains are interred: the remains are those of a person, in former time renowned for her piety—a member of a religious community—of the name of Crookshank. Some sixty or seventy years ago, the wonder-working effects produced by this good lady's remains, used to bring vast numbers of visitants to her tomb—till the spirit of whiskey unfortunately mingled a little too much with the spirit of veneration for the virtues of the nun, and the rudiments of a fine "pattern" were spoiled by the intervention of the authorities. Poor Miss Crookshank's relics, from that period till about the year 1816, when I first saw them, were visited only by curious boys and scientific gentlemen. In the month of February in the present year, after a lapse of twenty-six years, I found the remains of the nun removed from the place where they were originally deposited, as likewise those of John and Henry Sheares, and deposited in what is called the parish vault. Up to the time of the removal, which took place some five or six years ago, the remains

continued, I was informed, in the same perfect state in which they have been long known to exist. But the exposure to the air, consequent to the removal of her remains, and those of the Sheares on the same occasion, had proved injurious to them, and to the latter especially.

When I first saw the remains of the Sheares, about twenty-six years ago, I was accompanied to St. Michan's by a schoolfellow, of the name of Blake. When I visited the place in the month of January last, the same companion was with me likewise on that occasion. I found the remains of the Sheares in a state of dissolution. The features were no longer discernible; the coffins even had mouldered away, after the exposure to the external air, on their removal from an adjoining vault. On examining the head of the body described as that of John Sheares, I was surprised to find the head was that of a person extremely aged, the sutures entirely obliterated, and the alveolar processes quite worn down. "I said to the sexton—"This is not the head of John Sheares:" he replied that it "could be no other's."

For some days subsequently to this visit to the place of interment of the Sheares, the circumstances connected with it were uppermost in my mind, and were spoken of to several persons. At length, I received a communication from a gentleman well known in the city of Dublin, which removed all doubt as to the correctness of the opinion I had expressed, with respect to the head shewn with the remains of John Sheares.

This gentleman informed me that, when a mere boy, about twenty years ago, he went with some other lads of his own age, to see the remains of the Sheares. The idea had come into his mind, to take away the head of John Sheares, whom he had often heard spoken of with enthusiasm by one of his companions, a young fellow of rather democratic sentiments—and, it was added, of the Roman Catholic religion—[my informant was of neither one nor the other.] He took a boy with him into the vault, whom he had seen in the church-yard, and promised to reward him if he carried away the head unperceived.

The head was attached to the body by a strip of the integuments of the back part of the neck. The boy was supplied with a penknife, and the head was removed and carried home to the person's house, where it had remained for the last twenty years. This gentleman told me he had often regretted taking it; and as he knew that I was interested in matters appertaining to the Sheares, I might have it. I willingly accepted the offer, on condition of doing with it what might seem best to me, and it was sent to me the day following. It was in the state precisely in which I had seen it twenty-six years ago, as perfect as any New Zealand or Egyptian head of the inferior class of mummies. The head was finely formed, but the expression of the face—that of the most frightful agony. The mark of very violent injuries, done during life to the right eye and nose, were particularly apparent; the very indentation round the neck, from the pressure of the rope, was

visible; and there was no injury to the cervical vertebræ occasioned by any instrument—in fact, the head had not been entirely separated from the body at the time of execution.

The marks of violence on the face, there can be little doubt, were occasioned by the barbarous act committed by the executioner, before he was launched into eternity, as described in the Cork paper. The circumstance of the head having been found attached to the body at the time of its removal, is connected with a matter somewhat singular. I may observe, that the head thus slightly attached to the trunk, was seen by Mr. William H. Curran, about twenty-one years ago. John Sheares, after sentence was pronounced on him, in order to prevent or put some difficulty in the way of the executioner holding up his head pursuant to the sentence, after execution, had his hair cut close, and the act had the effect he intended; for though the barbarous ceremony of cutting through the neck was performed, the head was not separated from the body. Barrington saw the executioner holding up the head of his friend (Henry) on his arrival, but he makes no mention of the same being done with John's.

The hair on the head, as it was when sent to me, was of a light brown colour; and was cut, or rather clipped, extremely short.

In the latter end of January, 1842, having obtained the necessary permission from the clergyman of St. Michan's church, the remains of the Sheares were placed in coffins of lead, and the best Irish oak that could be procured for them, in the presence of one

who had been in his young days a member of the same society to which they belonged, and of two other individuals.

The head of which I have spoken was placed with the remains of John Sheares, a plaster cast of it having been previously taken, which is now in the possession of Mr. Donovan, a London phrenologist.

The two coffins were laid side by side; and so far, I trust, the possibility is prevented of their remains being disturbed in future.

The remains of Mr. Samuel Rosborough, a man once of some notoriety in Dublin; and likewise those of the nun, Miss Crookshank, semi-canonized nearly a century ago in the minds of thousands of her catholic fellow-citizens, are deposited in the same vault with those of Henry and John Sheares.

CHAPTER XIV.

In the letter of John Sheares to his sister Julia, two days previously to his execution, two subjects are touched upon, of a nature which it is not the least unpleasant part of the task I have undertaken to notice. In the prayer he offers up for that "dear mother" he speaks of, with so much filial tenderness, it is painful to find expressions, which can leave no doubt of the uncertainty of his mind, and unfixedness of his opinions on religious subjects. The baneful influence of French philosophy, had been fatal to his belief in Revelation; the crimes which were committed in his times in the name of religion, as well as of liberty, he, like too many of his associates, who, hurried away by their feelings, or dazzled by the meteor lights of a specious philosophy, in the turmoil of passing events, or of busy pursuits, jumped at conclusions, on matters newly considered and perhaps hitherto too foreign to their habits, or the worldly claims on their attention to reflect on. The truths of religion became involved in their minds, in the abuses committed in its name. The first war-cry of republicanism in France, was "The crimes of

the Clergy;" the ears of this ill-fated young man, had been familiarized to the outcry of that time; and those who think they are promoting the cause of true religion, by familiarizing the public ear with denunciations against the ministers of a christian creed, of any denomination, would do well to consider the never-failing tendency of such a course to damage religion itself, while they imagine they are only bringing the ministers of that one denomination into disrepute.

In all matters of opinion, and maintenance of opinion, there is no maxim more true, than that "violence begets violence;" its reaction is not only injurious to its employer, but to the cause which is intended, or more frequently pretended, to be promoted by it. In dealing with error, the weapons of its votaries, or victims, are the worst that can be employed; falsehood has need of violence, but truth has not. Invective brings no conviction home to misguided, or mistaken men, and it behoves us to bear in mind the fate of Tertullian, when in reproving error, we mingle with our zeal, in defence of truth, the bitterness of an ascetic spirit.

In speaking of those that have fallen into error, and have been called before that tribunal, which is all competent to pronounce upon it, we may lament its blindness, but we must remember, there is but One "Searcher of hearts," and to Him alone, man is accountable for his belief.

So long as his conduct in relation to society, is uninfluenced by the error of his religious opinions; so long as he seeks not to propagate those opinions

to the public scandal, or the prejudice of the weak, the ignorant, or unexperienced, he is no more accountable to man, for the form of his creed, than he is for the colour of his face.

I trust, I may be pardoned for making these observations, however common-place they may seem, and if I have explained my sentiments, the religious opinions of John Sheares, can derive no support or encouragement from my admission of their having been unfortunately entertained by him.

That they were sincerely entertained, I have no doubt; that solemn appeal to the Supreme Being, for his wretched mother, in the last moments of his life, cannot be mistaken for the affectation of aught he did not feel. There is no mockery with God, and he knew he was then about to appear before His throne.

If the errors of his opinions were grievous, most grievously did he suffer for them, even in this world.

In the early part of the year 1798, his long and ardent attachment to Maria Steele, was formally made known by him, to the mother of that young lady. His intention, if his proposal was accepted, was to go to America, and follow his profession there. Mrs. Steele was partial to him and fond of his society.* In fact she treated him as a son, and

* The following little anecdote, related to me by Miss Steele, will shew the kind of terms John Sheares was on with Mrs. Steele. He called one morning and found Mrs. Steele examining a new bonnet. She was not pleased with the fashion of it, and said, it was a "nonsensical shape, there was no sense in it." John Sheares differed with her in opinion about it, he placed it on her head, and said, "Now, I hope there is some sense in it."

frequently used a mother's privilege, in her admonitions on the subject of his religious sentiments. The importance she attached to this subject, and her opinion of its influence in relation to her daughter's happiness, induced her to refuse her consent to the marriage, and no efforts on his part could change her resolution.

The disappointment of his hopes was severely felt by him, and there can be little doubt, it had a fatal influence on his future conduct: the excitement of political pursuits from that time seemed to have been had recourse to, as if to give a new turn to his thoughts, and unfortunately they became concentrated on these subjects.*

The other part of his letter to his sister, which I have to notice with reluctance, is that wherein he commits the child he calls "his little Louisa" to the charge of his kind sister. The station in society of the mother of this child, was above that of the lower orders; she was a person of some education, and had been respectably brought up. John Sheares became connected with her about 1791; she went by the name of Mrs. White. The child, Louisa, was

* The lady of whom I have so frequently had occasion to make mention in this Memoir, as the friend of John Sheares, the object of his affections, was indeed eminently qualified to win the admiration of one of his intellectual and literary taste. A more highly-gifted, amiable and noble-minded lady, it would be difficult to meet with. In the circle in which she moved, she will be long remembered, and by those at least who were acquainted with her, this poor tribute to her memory will not be unacceptable. She died in Dublin, the 31st of August, 1841, and her remains were interred with those of her mother, in one of the vaults of St. George's Church.

seven or eight years of age at the time of her father's death. John states in his letter, that his brother wished him to have the child in his house, and for the very proper reasons assigned therein, that proposal was declined. She had been placed under the care of a lady who kept a school at Bray, and at her father's death his wishes with respect to her had been fulfilled to the letter, by his most amiable and affectionate sister, one of the most generous, kind-hearted, and gentle of human beings. She devoted her scanty means to the education of this child, and, at a proper age, placed her in a 'magazin de modes' at Bath, to acquire a knowledge of that business. Subsequently, she was sent to a similar establishment, in Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, and after remaining there for some time, at the death of old Mrs. Sheares, she accompanied her aunt to Cork, where she was again placed in the line of business to which she was brought up.

The old and faithful friend of the Sheares, "the worthy Charles Coghlan," was then residing in Cork —he had two children, a son and a daughter—the latter married to a Mr. Boden. The intimacy between his family and the surviving relations of his former friends, led to the union of his son with the daughter of John Sheares. This marriage proved an unhappy one for her. The short and sad account of it is best given in the words of a gentleman intimately acquainted with the family of the husband, and now one of the most distinguished citizens of Cork :—" Louisa Sheares was handsome, indeed beautiful, and well-educated. The man she married

was in no respect like his worthy father. He was dissipated, and addicted to low and vicious habits, and therefore the marriage proved unfortunate; after two years they separated. They had had one child, a daughter; and on Mrs. Coghlan's leaving Ireland, the child was taken charge of by her husband's father. The husband, following up his dissipated courses, terminated in a short time his unfortunate career.

"The daughter, who was left in the charge of the paternal grandfather, grew to womanhood—the perfection, certainly, of feminine beauty. She is now the wife of a clergyman of the established church—a treasure to her husband, and an object of esteem and respect to all who know her."

Mrs. Coghlan went on the stage in England, first, I believe in Liverpool, under the name of Whyte, and subsequently was engaged in one of the minor theatres in London. Her career was not fortunate. She returned to Ireland about the year 1828, after an absence of six or seven years, and died in Dublin shortly after her return; she was visited in her last illness by Mrs. Henry Sheares.

Henry Sheares left six children, four by his first wife—Henry, Richard, Alicia, and Jane; two by his second wife, Garrett and Mary. His eldest son was sent to India, at the age of fourteen; obtained a commission in the Company's service, and distinguished himself in action on several occasions; he rose to the rank of captain when he was only eighteen years of age. His relative, the sister of the Messrs. Fleming, speaks of him as a fine young man of great

promise. He died in India of fever, before he had attained his nineteenth year, "highly esteemed by all who knew him." Richard Benjamin, the second son, was brought up by his grandfather, Mr. Swete, of Cork. In 1835 he was on the point of marriage, when he was suddenly seized with illness, and died at the house of the father of the lady he was engaged to, at Mr. Dunscombe's of that county.

By his will, he bequeathed all his property (said to be about £600 per annum) to the second daughter of his sister Alicia, who was married to Alderman Perry of Cork, on condition that, at her marriage, her husband should assume the name of Sheares. Henry Benjamin was not allowed to take his father's name, during the life of his grandfather Swete, but assumed it at his death. This young man was so far imbued with the political sentiments of those he was brought up by, as to forget what was due to his father's memory, and to give utterance to language, in speaking of that father, which no conviction of his errors could call for or excuse. Nevertheless, from the time he was capable of choosing his associates, he had none amongst the violent of that party, whose political opinions he had been thus early imbued with; and this circumstance, in connexion with the condition on which he left his fortune, and the fact of his resuming the name of Sheares at the death of his grandfather, are indicative of feelings, which the influence of political rancour was not able to pervert. His sister Alicia, who was married to Alderman Perry, is still living. Jane, who was the only one

of the children, by the first marriage, living at her father's house at the time of his unfortunate end, died about the age of fourteen.

The two children by his second wife are both dead. Garret died in England, about the age of sixteen. Mary married a clergyman, of the name of Butler, formerly one of the officiating curates of the Molyneux Asylum Chapel, in Dublin. This lady died in England, a few years ago, and her mother, the widow of the unfortunate Henry Sheares, is now residing in England in easy circumstances.

This amiable lady sought, in religion, those consolations which her afflicted spirit so greatly needed —consolations which no human comfort could give to calamities such as hers, and no chance or change in this world can take from her.

The aged mother of her husband, after the execution of her sons, went to England, and passed the remainder of her wretched days at Clifton. The fate of her unfortunate sons was ever present to her mind, and its remembrance "brought her grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

Her daughter Julia, and the widow of her son, resided with her till her death, and that event broke up the home of the friendless and forlorn creatures who survived her. The life of this poor lady, for many years, had been one continued scene of misfortune: affliction on affliction fell on her in quick succession; four of her sons, in the prime of life, were taken from her by violent deaths. Broken down, at length, by her sufferings, it pleased God, in His mercy, to release her from them. She died

at Clifton in the year 1803, having survived the last of her sons about five years. Her will was proved at the Prerogative Court, in Dublin, the 28th of June, the same year. The following is a copy of it:—

"In the name of God, Amen: I, Jane Ann Sheares, widow and relict of Henry Sheares, late of the city of Cork, Ireland, Esq., being in reasonable health and memory, thanks to God, do make and publish this my last will and testament, in manner and form following: and first, I order and direct that all my just debts and funeral expenses be paid, with all convenient speed after my decease. I desire that my remains may be buried as privately as possible early in the morning, and I most earnestly request that Doctor Rogers will permit the same to be laid in his vault, according to implicit promise from his father through his uncle Joseph Rogers, Esq., close to the remains of my dead husband lying there; if Doctor Rogers refuses to give my remains room in his vault, I beg my dear friend Phillipa Maria Carew, will take my dear husband's out of Doctor Roger's vault and put it into her own, and put mine close with it; I only mean by this direction and request, that if sending me over and interring me in Cork, can be done for £10 more than here, if not, where the tree falls let it lie; whenever I die, inter me as privately as possible. I bequeath to my dear daughter Juliana Sheares, all the money that I die possessed of, either in bonds or in cash, or whatever may be due to me at the time of my death, of my annuity, or in any manner; likewise, £500 of the charge which my late

husband Henry Sheares, Esq. left upon his estate for the benefit of his younger children to my division, and which I gave to my late dear unfortunate son, John Sheares, as part of his provision when he came of age; upon his being under some difficulties, he sold it to me a few years before his death. I gave him £500 sterling for it, as his deed of sale among my papers will shew. I likewise bequeath all my clothes, linen of all sorts, and ornaments, to my said daughter, Juliana Sheares, except my fine enamelled snuff-box, which I beg my daughter-in-law Sarah Sheares, will accept as a token of my love. I am sorry I have not now anything useful to leave her. I beg that my daughter, Juliana Sheares, will give the locket that I wear of my dear son John's hair, to Phillipa Maria Carew, with some of my hair put in on the other side; and that my daughter Juliana will have two plain lockets made, and a bit of my hair put into each, and sent to my two dear friends, Mrs. Hoare and Catherine Spaeght, spinster; they three know that I would leave them better tokens of my love and gratitude if it were in my power. I appoint Robert Drought, of the city of Dublin, in Ireland, Esq., and Chichester St. Leger, Esq., to be my true and lawful executors, both of the same kingdom.

(L. S.) JANE ANN SHEARES.

"Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the testator in the presence of us, who have hereunto set our names as witnesses, at her request, and in her presence, and in the presence of each other.

RICHARD LAURENCE,
ANN LAURENCE,
LOUISA LAURENCE."

Never was there a struggle attended with more calamitous consequences to any country than the rebellion in Ireland of 1798. The ruin brought on the families of those who were engaged in it, admits of no retrieval; but the injury inflicted on the general interests of the country may be atoned for by good government, and the administration of just and equal laws.

The only real bond of union between the two countries is the British constitution; all its civil and religious privileges being held to be the benefits and birthrights that belong alike to the people of both. Many of these blessings of late years have been extended to Ireland, the concession of which, forty-four or five years ago, would have pacified that country—prevented the loss of 50,000 lives, and saved the expenditure of upwards of twenty millions of money.

But much remains to be done, to turn that outlay to an account which may give the future a better and a brighter aspect than the past. The interests of both countries are now identical, and none but the enemies of both can wish those interests divided, by ruling one section of the kingdom for the benefit of a faction, and rendering the mass of the people jealous of the privileges, which too long gave an ascendancy to a class of men of selfish interests, sordid enough to accord only a conditional loyalty, commensurate and co-existent with the exclusive privileges conferred upon it.

The words addressed to Queen Elizabeth, by a servant of hers, the father of Sir Phillip Sydney, respecting her government in Ireland, and the means

of extending and securing its authority, are such as might be spoken by the servant of her successor, at the present time—by him whose name is coupled with a mission honourable to humanity, entrusted to him in a country where all the barbarities of civil war prevailed, and from which the land that now is the sphere of his duties, is said to have derived its ancient name and origin.

I believe, if his own generous feelings in reference to Ireland were expressed, the words that would reach the throne of a sovereign, whose virtues inspire more respect than those of Elizabeth ever could command, would be a repetition of those of Sydney:—"*You must plant justice here!*"

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ORIGIN AND DISSOLUTION OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

The following document is a copy of the original compact, entered into for the formation of the first volunteer corps, with the signatures of the members of the association, bearing date the 26th of March, 1778, and styled the Belfast First Volunteer Company. This curious document, which may be regarded as the Magna Charta of the Irish Volunteers, is now in the possession of Mr. Francis M'Cracken, of Belfast, one of the original members—and, as he informs me, the only surviving one of them. This gentleman, now in extreme old age, speaks of the establishment of this association—of its noble appearance, and its admirable discipline, with all the enthusiasm of his early days in its service. The uniform he wore on the first parade-day of his company, was produced on the occasion of my seeking a copy of this document, and, at the expiration of sixty-four years, was once more put on by the old gentleman, to shew me how it looked; and the spirit of the old volunteering times seemed, for a moment, to animate the features, and to set up the stooping form, of the old soldier of his country, as he paraded his drawing-room, recalling the stirring times of his volunteering days, and the glorious scenes he had witnessed when that old uniform was first in requisition.

This sort of practical connexion of two links of time, many years apart, and replete with so many striking reminiscences, was not without a touching interest.

The immediate cause of the formation of the Belfast Volunteer Association, is said to have been the receipt of a letter from the chief secretary of state, from Sir Richard Heron, in reply to a communication from the principal inhabitants of Belfast, through the sovereign of that town, Mr. Stewart Banks, to the following effect :—

Dublin Castle, Aug. 14*th,* 1778.

Sir,

My Lord Lieutenant having received information, that there is reason to apprehend three or four privateers, in company,* may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom,—by his Excellency's command I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his Excellency cannot, at present, send *no* further military force to Belfast than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids; and his Excellency desires you will acquaint me, by express, whether a troop or two of horse may be *properly* accommodated in Belfast, so long as it may be *proper* to continue them in that town, in addition to the other two troops now there.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

Richard Heron.

The Volunteers appear to have first determined on uniting, and then asking, in a dutiful manner,

* In the month of April, 1778, the Ranger privateer, Captain Paul Jones, mounting eighteen guns, sailed round H. M.'s sloop of war "Drake," lying in the harbour of Belfast.

for the consent of the guardians of the public peace. The above letter is dated the 14th August, 1778, when the first Volunteer Association had been already nearly five months in existence in Belfast, having been formed the 26th of March. Paul Jones's appearance off the harbour, and sailing round the Drake, did not take place till the 13th of April, so that the sound of the loud voice that was shouting across the Atlantic, appears to have reached the shores of our modern Athens, before the fear of foreign invasion or piratical attempts had inspired much alarm, or stimulated the military ardour of the sturdy spirit of the northern presbyterians:—

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of the town of Belfast, in consideration of the impending war with France, and the apprehension of a hostile invasion of the country, and of the consequent intestine commotions that may arise therefrom, do hereby associate ourselves together to learn the military discipline, for defence of ourselves and this town and county, under the name of the Belfast First Volunteer Company; and we plight our faith, each to all, to be governed in this our design, in every case that may arise, by the voice of the majority; and that we will not withdraw from the Company from any other cause than removal, or bodily indisposition; and that we will each bear a proportional share of the expenses that may arise to the Company; and that we will never accept of any wages or reward from Government as a Volunteer Company, or submit to take any military oath or obligation therefrom.

Given under our hands this 26th March, 1778.*

Thomas Brown,	Robert Hyndman,
Stewart Banks,	Robert Linn,
Joseph Murray,	Samuel M'Cadam,

* There was a draft of the above document, dated the 17th March, in the possession of Mr. M'Cracken, which was lost.

James Joy,
William Caldbech,
Jones Park, jun.
James M'Comb.
Thomas Mostyn,
Robert Bradshaw,
William Caldbeck,
Val. Joyce,
George Wells, jun.
Francis Barron,
Henry Haslett,
James M'Kain,
Shem Thompson,
James Ferguson, jun.
John Neilson,
James Hyndman,
George Joy,
John Stevenson,
John S. Ferguson,
Charles Lewis,
James Fitzgerald,
William Thompson,
Francis Joy,
Robert Murray,
James Arthur,
William Wilson,
Andrew Hyndman,
Samuel Robinson,
William Ware,
William Lyons,
J. Tisdall,
James Cleland,
John Callwell,
Alexander Sutherland,
Robert Hodgson,
Alexander Holmes,
Richard Seed,
Cr. Salmon,
David Dinsmore,
Samuel Stewart,
William Duxen,
Henry Joy, jun.
Robert Wilson,
J. Alexander,
Alexander Searson,
Charles M'Kinney,
William M'Ilwrath,
John Murdoch,
William Dawson,
John Elliott,
William Watson,
William Burgess,
Waddell Cunningham,
Alexander Arthur,
John Mathews,
William Magee,
John Burden,
Francis M'Cracken,
William Callwell,
David Tomb,
Hu. Warren,
James Graham,
Thomas Kirkpatrick,
William Byrtt,
William Milford,
Hugh Dunlop,
John Gowan,
Richard Maitland,
James Stevenson,
William Auchinleck,
Edward Harrison,
John Logan,
Hugh Lyndon,
John Miller,
Thomas M'Cadam,
James H. Fletcher,
Richard Armstrong,
Alexander M'Ilwrath,
Andrew Neilson,
Joseph Wilson,

Thomas Harden,
James Martin,
Samuel Ferguson,
Francis Wilson,
Roger Mulholland,
John Barker,
Robert Watt M'Clure,
James Corry,
Robert M'Cormick,
John Boyle,
David M'Tear,
Thomas M'Comb,
John Park,
Thomas Lyons,
Hu. Harrison,
James Cunningham,
Baptist Johnston,
Hu. Crawford,
Robert Hyndman,
John Moore,
Thomas Sinclaire, jun.
John Bullock,
Roger M'Clum,
Thomas Clonnes,
George Kelso,
Terry Fitzgibbon,
John Gowdy,
William M'Ketterick,
Charles Boswell,
James Murray,
Marcus Ward,
Robert M'Cleary,
John Stewart,
Thomas Frazer,
Alexander Anderson,
Hugh Willoughby Toft,
William Bryson,
Hugh Sloan,
Andrew Hannah,
Sampson Clark,
John Griffith,
James Liddon,
Henry Shaw,
James M'Pherson,
William Spencer,
Thos. Ludford Stewart,
Alexander Petherow,
Francis Davis,
David Logan,
William Crymble,
William Emerson,
James Kennedy,
Thos. Wm. Betterton,
James Henry.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of the town of Belfast, actuated by the same motives expressed in the annexed association, do hereby join therein under the conditions and obligations therein mentioned, in the capacity of a body for exercising and fighting the Artillery intended for the First Company of Belfast Volunteers.

Given under our hands this 6th day of July 1778.

Hngh Henderson.
Daniel Boyd.
James Boyd.
James Bell.
Alexander Fidlie.
David Dunn.
Hugh Dickson.
John M'Cracken.

Robert Steele.	William Scott.
Robert Torrens.	William Hilditch.
Thomas Ash.	James Bashford.
Hugh Hawthorn.	John M'Cormick.

The Artillery Company never purchased uniform. The late Earl of Donegall, father to the present Marquis, presented each of the three Belfast Companies with two brass field-pieces (six pounders,) two of which, belonging to the second company, were used by the people, at the Battle of Antrim, and taken by the military; the other four were given up to General Nugent, in 1798. The first uniform of the Volunteers of 1778, was scarlet with black velvet facings; five or six years later, it was changed to green, with white facings, and in 1793, to yellow with white facings.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND.

A PROCLAMATION.

WESTMORLAND.

WHEREAS it appears by the report from the Lords' Committees, appointed to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevail in several parts of this kingdom, that certain seditious and ill-affected persons in several parts of the north of this kingdom, particularly in the town of Belfast, have endeavoured to foment and encourage discontent, and by seditious publications circulated amongst the people, and calculated to defame the government and the parliament, have endeavoured to render people dissatisfied with their condition, and with the laws.

And whereas it appears to us, by the said report, that several bodies of men have been collected into armed associations, and have been levied and arrayed in the said town of Belfast, and that arms and gunpowder, to a very large amount, have been sent thither; that bodies of men in arms are drilled and exercised by day and by night, and that the declared

object of the said armed bodies is redress of alleged grievances, but that the obvious intention of most of them appears to be to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both.

And whereas these dangerous and seditious proceedings tend to the disturbance of the public peace, the obstruction of good order and government, to the great injury of public credit, and the subversion of the constitution, and have raised great alarms in the minds of his Majesty's loyal subjects.

Now we the Lord Lieutenant and Council, being determined to maintain the public peace against all attempts to disturb the same, and being desirous to forewarn all such persons as might unadvisedly incur the penalties of the law in this behalf, by concurring in practices of a tendency so dangerous and alarming, do hereby strictly charge all persons whomsoever, on their allegiance to his Majesty, to abstain from committing such offences respectively.

And we do charge and command the magistrates, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other peace-officers, having jurisdiction within the said town of Belfast, and the several districts adjacent thereto, to be careful in preserving the peace within the same, and to disperse all seditious and unlawful assemblies; and if they shall be resisted, to apprehend the offenders, that they may be dealt with according to law.

Given at the council-chamber in Dublin, the 11th day of March, 1793.

(Signed) Fitzgibbon, &c. &c. &c.

In compliance with the proclamation, the volunteers ceased to parade, or any longer to appear in military array.

No. II.

In the month of October, 1791, some of the Catholic leaders attempted to form a society "Instituted for the purpose of promoting unanimity amongst Irishmen, and removing religious prejudices." This society put forth the following declaration, on the 21st of October, 1791, previously to the formation of the society of United Irishmen. The attempt proved abortive; but the idea was caught at, and embodied in the formation of a society called the Society of United Irishmen, which held its first meeting at the Eagle Tavern, in Eustace-street, the 9th of November, 1791.

Dublin, October 21*st*, 1791.

Declaration of the Society,

Instituted for the purpose of promoting unanimity amongst Irishmen, and removing religious prejudices.

In the present enlightened and improving period of society, it is not for the Irish Roman Catholics alone to continue silent. Not accused of any crime —not conscious of any delinquency, they suffer a privation of rights and conveniencies, the penalty reserved, in wise states, for offences of atrocious magnitude. It does not become them, whilst with liberality ever to be gratefully remembered, many descriptions of their fellow-citizens compassionate their situation, to seem indifferent to the desirable, and, they hope, not distant event of their emancipation. They wish to ascertain upon what terms they

may venture to settle in a country, which they love with the rational preference of men, not the simplicity of puerile acquiescence. It is not for the Irish Catholics, armed as their cause is with reason and justice, like public foes to seek advantage from public calamity. They ought to advance their claim at a time most favourable to discussion, when the condition of the empire is flourishing and tranquil. They might seem culpable to their country, if, affecting to dissemble what it were unmanly not to feel, they reserved their pretensions in ambuscade to augment the perplexities of some critical emergency. They should be culpable to posterity, if they omitted to profit by the general inclination of public sentiment. They should be culpable to themselves, if they suffered an imputation to subsist, that in the extent of the British territory they alone submit, without repining, to a mortifying and oppressive bondage, degrading to themselves, and pernicious to their country. They conceive, that in the present state of things their silence might be received as evidence of such dispositions.

Influenced by these considerations, and instructed by a recent transaction, that although laws may be shameful and preposterous, there is no security that they shall not be enforced—for even in a philosophic age there will be bigots, and tyrants where the votaries of freedom are most sanguine—a number of Roman Catholics, resident in Dublin, have formed themselves into a society which they invite their fellow-sufferers throughout the nation to unite with, which shall have for its object to consider, and individually to support with all their zeal, and personal influence, such measures not inconsistent with their duty to the civil magistrate, as shall appear likely to relieve them from the oppressions and disqualifications imposed in this country on persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. We therefore do unanimously Resolve,

That we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavour by all legal and constitutional means to procure

the repeal of the laws by which we are aggrieved, as Roman Catholics. That we will promote repeated applications to every branch of the legislature for that purpose; and assist such applications by all means of legal influence, which it shall at any time be possible for us to exert.

It would be tedious, it might prove disgusting, to recount each individual grievance under which we suffer. The Roman Catholics seem preserved in this land but as a source of revenue. The whole legislative, the whole executive, the whole judicial power of the state, is in the hands of men, over whom they have no control, and with whom they can have little intercourse. They are prohibited to engage in any mode of industry, from which it is possible to debar them, or which is worth the monopoly. They are restricted in the education of their children. As conscientious men we cannot lightly abandon our religion; as prudent men, we hesitate to engage in controversial study: the wisest have been bewildered in such pursuits, and they are, for the most part, incompatible with our necessary occupations. Nor is there any moral advantage held out as an inducement to change our creed. It is not pretended that we should become better men, or more dutiful subjects, but merely, experimentalists in religion seek to gratify their caprice by forcing us from our habits of education, into the perplexing labyrinth of theology.

The liberty of Ireland, to those of our communion, is a calamity, and their misfortunes seem likely to increase, as the country shall improve in prosperity and freedom. They may look with envy to the subjects of an arbitrary monarch, and contrast that government, in which one great tyrant ravages the land, with the thousand inferior despots, whom at every instant they must encounter. They have the bustle and cumbersome forms, without the advantages of liberty. The octennial period, at which the delegated trust of legislation is revoked, and his importance restored to the constituent, returns but to disturb their tranquillity and revive the recollection of

their debasement. All the activity, all the popular arts of electioneering canvas, enforce the idea of their insignificance; they exemplify it too; witness the various preferences given by persons of rank to, not always the most deserving among our Protestant countrymen, a preference nearly as detrimental to the independent Protestants as to us.

There exists not on their behalf any control over power. They have felt the truth of this assertion, when in this age of toleration, even within the last eight years, several new penal statutes have been enacted against them. They experience it daily, not alone in the great deliberations of the nation, but in the little concerns of minute districts. Not alone in the levy of public money for the service of the state, but in the local imposition of county and parochial taxes. We appeal to our rulers, we appeal to Ireland, we appeal to Europe, if we deserve a place in society, should we seem willing to insinuate that such a situation is not severely unacceptable!

We are satisfied that the mere repeal of the laws against us will prove but feebly beneficial, unless the act be sanctioned by the concurrence of our Protestant brethren, and those jealousies removed by which the social intercourse of private life is interrupted. It is time we should cease to be distinct nations, forcibly enclosed within the limits of one island. It shall be a capital object of our institution to encourage the spirit of harmony and sentiments of affection, which the ties of common interest and common country, ought, ere now, to have inspired. Countrymen! too long have we suffered ourselves to be opposed in rival factions to each other, the sport of those who felt no tenderness for either. Why should a diversity of sentiment, so usual, where the matter in debate is abstruse or important, separate those whom Heaven placed together for mutual benefit and consolation? Objects material in their day, produced hostility between our ancestors. The causes of that discord have ceased to exist; let the enmity too perish. Let it be the duty of the present and of future ages, to

prevent the recurrence of such unnatural and calamitous dissension; except in the actual discharge of the religious duties, which conscience renders inevitable, we wish there never shall be found a trace of difference, which may possible divide us into distinct communities.

The ill effects of those restrictions are not confined to those of our religion; they extend to every individual and every public body in the nation; under the weight of them, industry is depressed; under their influence, public spirit is enervated.—*It is the interest of every man in Ireland, that the entire code should be abolished.*—It is the interest of the crown, as it must promote the general happiness of the subjects; it is the interest of the great, as it will serve to tranquillize the country and to encourage industry; it is the additional interest of the middle and inferior ranks, as it must impart new importance to their sentiments, and to the expression of their sentiments: we call upon every order in the state, not alone by their benevolence and justice, but by their patriotism and self-interest, to co-operate with our exertions.

It adds the insult of mockery to the misfortune of the Irish Catholics, that the number of persons aggrieved, in every other instance an inducement to redress, is a reason alleged to procrastinate their relief, and an argument used to impose silence on their murmurs. Is it their act, that a multitude of Irishmen are aggregated by common grievance, and classed in one great community of fellow-sufferers? Why accuse them of hostility to the constitution? They earnestly solicit to participate in its advantages. Why suspect them of enmity to their country? They desire to contract with it closer ties, which shall decide them to consign their posterity irrevocably to its bosom. We envy not its endowments to the Established Church; adversity has instructed us, that all the consolations which our religion promises, are most faithfully and tenderly administered by pastors, with moderate appointments, a free gift of gratitude

to the kindest benefactors,—fastidiously excluded from the constitution, we can pronounce on it, but as aliens, by speculation. We discern in it the means of much happiness; we regret that its symmetry is not complete; a chasm remains, which might be filled with advantage by the Roman Catholics; we have neither passion nor interest at variance with the order of things it professes to establish. We desire only, that property in our hands, may have its natural weight, and merit in our children its rational encouragement. We have sworn allegiance to our sovereign, and the very evils we complain of, prove how inviolable is our attachment to such obligations. We respect the peerage, the ornament of the state and the bulwark of the people; interposing, as we hope the Irish Catholics will experience, mediatory good offices between authority and the objects of it. We solicit a share of interest in the existence of the commons. Do you require an additional test? We offer one more unequivocal than a volume of abjurations,—we hope to be free, and will endeavour to be united. Do you require new proofs of our sincerity? We stood by you in the exigencies of our country. We extend our hands, the pledge of cordiality. Who is he that calls himself a friend to Ireland, and will refuse us?

If the applications on behalf of the Irish Catholic are complied with, they can never have an occasion, —if rejected, they cannot have an interest to interrupt the public harmony. Engaged, for the most part, in the various departments of commerce, they are concerned, not less than any other class of citizens, to cultivate the blessings of tranquillity: individually, we have more at stake than some who presume to falsify our motives, and calumniate our actions. The Roman Catholic body measured strength with the power of the State, and was vanquished, when it possessed a force that never more can be exerted, and was opposed to enemies far less numerous than now it should encounter. The confiscations of that period are confirmed to the present occupiers by immemorial possession, by the utter

impossibility of ascertaining the original proprietors, by the personal and pecuniary interest, of almost every Roman Catholic in the land, to maintain the settlement. Many of our communion already have, and still more are likely to embark their property on titles derived under those forfeitures. It is not from the wealthy, attached to their present enjoyment, that commotion is to be apprehended:—It is not from the industrious; a single year of anarchy must prove fatal to their competence:—It is not from the poor, a wretched band of slaves, mouldering under these bad laws, and only made use of to degrade the Irish Catholics to a rabble, when it is convenient to despise them. We are willing to forget, that any besides the present race ever existed in this Island. We long have been willing to forget it, if our recollection were not kept alive by what we suffer, and by the celebration of festivals, memorable only as they denote the æra, and the events, from whence we date our bondage.

We will endeavour by temperate, but unremitting assiduity, to procure the benefit of that constitution which, of all our fellow-subjects, is denied alone to those of our persuasion. We are amenable to all the decrees of the state, we contribute to all its exigencies; we are still to be informed upon what grounds its advantages are made a monopoly to our exclusion. We challenge an investigation of our principles and conduct; we feel not in ourselves, we know not that there is in our brethren, a deficiency of manly spirit, of capacity or virtue, which ought to assign to the Irish Roman Catholic an inferior rank among the creatures of our common father. If we have a crime, it is to have slept over our chains; our cause is the cause of justice, and our country. We solicit counsel and assistance from all to whom these sacred names do not present themselves unheeded.

To the patronage of the lettered we peculiarly recommend ourselves; where talents have arisen among us, they have been compelled to seek refuge in a foreign country, or they have perished in their

infancy, robbed of the hope that animates, curtailed of the education that invigorates them. We claim as of right, the benefit of open trial and candid discussion; when overpowered by the administration of an extensive empire, the British Senate did not refuse its attention to the unfortunate exiles of Africa. If in this enlightened age, it is still our doom to suffer, we submit; but, at least, let us learn what imputation of crimes can instigate, or what motives of expediency can account for the denunciation of that heavy judgment. That, if loyalty, which strong temptations could never alienate; if exemplary good conduct under the most trying circumstances; if reverence to a constitution, which in our native land we are forbidden to approach, be insufficient to remove unjust aspersions, and entitle us to the kindness and confidence of our brethren, we may be at least instructed how we should atone for what we cannot deem inexpiable—*the political errors or misfortunes of our ancestors.*

No. III.

FIRST SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

Declaration of the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, 9th November 1791, *being similar to that of a Society in Belfast.*

In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience, when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

We have no National Government.

We are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, whose strength is the weakness of Ireland, and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by unanimity, decision and spirit

in the people, qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally and efficaciously by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland—an equal representation of all the people in parliament.

We do not here mention as grievances the rejection of a place bill, of a pension bill, of a responsibility bill, the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough trafic between both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people in their own government but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called "The Society of United Irishmen," and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:—

1st. Resolved, that the weight of English influence in the government of this country, is so great as to requite a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament.

3rd. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied as we are that the intestine divisions among Irishmen, have too often given encouragement and impunity to audacious and corrupt administrations, in measures which but for these divisions they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith.

We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy: with a Parliament thus reformed every thing is easy; without it nothing can be done; and we do call on and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general, to follow our example, and form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man throughout all sects and denominations of Irishmen.

The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations, to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, Secretary.

TEST.

I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in Parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.

The following observations on the preceding declarations, resolutions, &c. communicated by Mr. Tone to his friend, Russell of Belfast, in a letter, plainly intimated objects ulterior to reform or emancipation, so early as the commencement of 1792:—

"The foregoing contains my true and sincere opinion of the state of this country, *so far as in the present juncture it may be advisable to publish it.* They certainly fall short of the truth, but truth itself must sometimes condescend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is that the bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England: I believe that influence will ever be extended while the connexion between the countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that opinion is, *for the present,* too hardy, though a very little time may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the resolutions, I have only proposed to set up a reformed parliament, as a barrier against that mischief which every honest man that will open his eyes, must see in every instance overbears the interest of Ireland: I have not said one word that looks like a wish for *separation,* though I give it to you and your friends as my most decided opinion that such an event would be a regeneration to this country.

"I have, you will see, alluded to the resolutions of *the Whig Club,* and I have differed with them *in degree only,* that is, I think, and I am sure they do not go far enough, *they are not sincere friends to the popular cause;* they dread the people as much as the Castle does. It may be objected that an implied difference of sentiment between them and the people will weaken both—I think otherwise; if they do not join you in supporting a reform in parliament, they do not deserve support themselves. Apply the touchstone; if they stand the trial, well; if they fail, they are false and hollow, and the sooner they are detected the better. What signifies peddling with their superficial measures? They are good *so far as they go,* but for the people to spend their strength in pursuit of such, would be just as wise as for a man who has a mortification in his bowels, to be very solicitous about a plaister for his fore-finger. To be candid, I dare say that my lord Charlemont, and I am pretty sure, that Mr. Grattan, would hesitate very much at the resolutions which I send; but I only

beg you will dismiss your respect for great names, read over the resolutions, and what I have now said, and then determine impartially between us. I have alluded to the Catholics, but so remotely as I hope not to alarm the most cautious Protestant; it is wicked nonsense to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they shall not have their due share."

PLAN FOR AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Prepared for their consideration by the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

1st. That the nation, for the purpose of representation solely, should be divided into 330 electorates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

2nd. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

3rd. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time, be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

4th. That there should be a returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

5th. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided, as hereinafter specified.

6th. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning-officer of the electorate, who shall tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

7th. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament, should exercise it in his own person only.

8th. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

9th. That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty-one years, and actually

dwelt, or maintained a family establishment in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election, (provided his residence, or maintaining a family establishment, be duly registered,) should be intitled to vote for the representation of the electorate.

10th. That there should be a registering officer, and a registry of residence, in every subdivision of each electorate; and that in all questions concerning residence, the registry should be considered as conclusive evidence.

11th. That all elections in the nation should commence and close on the same day.

12th. That the votes of all electors should be given by voice, and not by ballot.

13th. That no oath of any kind should be taken by any elector.

14th. That the full age of twenty-five years should be a necessary qualification to intitle any man to be a representative.

15th. That residence within the electorate should not, but that residence within the kingdom should, be a necessary qualification for a representative.

16th. That no property qualification should be necessary to intitle any man to be a representative.

17th. That any person having a pension, or holding a place in the executive or judicial departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a representative.

18th. That representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.

19th. That every representative should, on taking his seat, swear that neither he, nor any person to promote his interest, with his privity, gave, or was to give any bribe for the suffrage of any voter.

20th. That any representative convicted by a jury, of having acted contrary to the substance of the above oath, should be for ever disqualified from sitting or voting in parliament.

21st. That parliaments should be annual.

22nd. That a representative should be at liberty to resign his delegation upon giving sufficient notice to his constituents.

23rd. That absence from duty for should vacate the seat of a representative.

SECOND SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN.

When the new organization of the society was carried into effect, in the month of May, 1794, after the former society had been suppressed, a complexion totally different from that of its first declaration was given to its proceedings; a new constitution was drawn up. The test differed materially from the original one, which made it obligatory on the member to seek "an adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament." The new test made it binding on the candidate for admission, to seek "an adequate representation of all the people of Ireland," without any reference to parliament, the word being omitted altogether in the test. It also bound its members to secrecy, and the constitution of committees provided for the representation of the whole people, in the baronial, provincial, and national committees, and subordinate assemblies of the society.

The constitution is as follows:—

CONSTITUTION.

1st. This society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights and an union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty.

2nd. The members of this society shall either be ordinary or honorary, and shall not be limited to any description of men, but to extend to all persons who may be deemed eligible.

3rd. Every candidate for admission into this society

shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles, and whose names shall be entered on the books of the society; the candidate to be balloted for on the society's subsequent meeting, and if one of the beans be black, he shall stand rejected.

4th. As a fund is necessary, the better to carry into effect the purpose of this association, each member on his admission shall pay to the society the sum of and per month while he shall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this society shall be a secretary and treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every first meeting in November, February, May, and August.

6th. This society, in manner aforesaid, shall appoint two members, who, with the secretary, shall act for the society in a baronial committee, which members shall receive on each night of their attendance on said committee.

7th. This society shall, in manner aforesaid, appoint members, who, with the treasurer, shall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the request of either committees, or any members, signing a requisition, the secretary, or if he shall be absent, the treasurer, shall call an extra meeting of the society.

9th. This society shall meet in ordinary every second evening, at o'clock, the president to be chosen by a majority of the members present, of whom shall be a quorum.

10th. Every respect and deference shall be paid to the chairman. On his rising from his seat and taking off his hat, there shall be silence, and the members seated. He shall be judge of order and propriety; shall grant leave of absence at pleasure; shall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly he is empowered to direct an apology, or

if refractory, fine him in any sum not exceeding and on refusal to do as directed he shall therefore be expelled the society for

11th. No member shall speak more than twice to one question, without leave from the chairman.

12th. Every person elected a member of this society, whether ordinary or honorary, shall previous to his admission take the following *Test*, in a separate apartment, in presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or in case of absence of one of the two persons, the chairman shall appoint another member to act for the absentee, after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the society, and there take the test in the usual form.

TEST.

In the awful presence of God.

I, A.B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland.

I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged society being introduced to this society by a member, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing test, be admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

14th. No member shall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who shall not grant it unless the member is leaving his place of residence,

which certificate shall be lodged with the secretary on his return.

15th. When this society shall amount to the number of thirty-six members, it shall be equally divided by lot;* that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the secretary or treasurer shall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen shall be considered the senior society, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who shall apply to the baronial committee, through the delegates of the senior society, for a number; and that this division shall take place only in the months of October, January, April, and July. The fund shall also be equally divided.

16th. That no society shall be recognized by any committee, unless approving of, and taking the test, and amounting in number to seven members.

CONSTITUTION OF COMMITTEES, AS ADOPTED THE 10TH OF MAY.

Baronial Committees.

1st. When any barony or other district shall contain three or more societies, three persons from each shall be elected by ballot, conformable to the sixth article, to form a baronial committee (for three months); their names to be returned to the secretary of the senior society, who shall request a deputation from the nearest baronial committee to constitute a committee for the said barony or other district.

2nd. When any barony or district shall contain eight societies, they may form another committee, to be called the second committee of said barony or district, provided each contains three or more societies.

3rd. Baronial committees shall receive delegates from societies of a contiguous barony, provided said barony do not contain three societies.

* Societies in country places to divide as may best suit their local situation.

4th. That the baronial committee shall correspond with societies or individuals, who have subscribed the declaration and taken the test of the present associated societies.

5th. That all questions shall be determined by a majority of the members present.

6th. That the baronial committee being regularly summoned, the one-third of its members shall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to business.

7th. That any business originating in any individual society, shall, at the instance of such society's delegates, be by the baronial committee laid before the other societies.

County Committees.

1st. When any county shall contain three or more baronial committees, two persons shall be elected by ballot from each baronial committee, to form a county committee (for three months).

2nd. County committees shall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if said counties do not contain three baronial committees.

Provincial Committees.

1st. When two or more counties shall have county committees, three persons shall be elected by ballot from each to form a provincial committee (for three months).

2nd. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if such provinces do not contain two county committees.

National Committee.

That when two provincial committees are formed they shall elect five persons from each by ballot, to form a national committee.

N. B.—Society's first meetings in November, February, May, and August, to be on or before the 5th; baronial committees on or before the 8th; county committee on or before the 15th, and provincial committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, county, and provincial committees shall meet at least once in every month, and report to their constituents.

Names of committee-men should not be known by any person but those who elect them.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

Meeting of the Society, 5th December, 1791: the Hon. Simon Butler in the Chair; James Napper Tandy, Sec.

We annex the Declaration of Political Principles which we have subscribed, and the Test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this Institution, is to make an United Society of the Irish Nation; to make all Irishmen—Citizens;—all Citizens—Irishmen; nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies—who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common rights, should know each other and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace, in this island, has hitherto been a peace on the principles, and with the consequences, of civil war. For a century past, there has indeed been tranquillity; but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquillity of a dungeon; and

if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature, resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals, or as parties; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and to act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves—the weakness of one, and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power—it is wisdom: it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this Society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and concentrate the public power into one solid mass; the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors—much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk, like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force, succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent. But we gladly look forward to brighter prospects—to a People united in the fellowship of freedom—to a Parliament the express image of that People—to a prosperity established on civil political, and religious liberty—to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquillity which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been, to attend to those things in which we agree—to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in

knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them. If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same. We agree in thinking, that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the great body of the people, must, on his own principles, be convicted of political persecution, and political monopoly, &c.

June 7, 1793.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

Henry Sheares, *President,*
Edw. Joseph Lewins, *Secretary.*

Address to their Catholic Countrymen:

Fellow-Citizens,

We hasten to recognize, under this new and endearing title, a People tried by experience, and schooled by adversity; who have signalized their loyalty amidst all the rigours of the law; who have proved their fidelity to a constitution, which, with respect to them, violated all its own principles; and who have set an example of patient perdurance in religious faith, while, for a century, they experienced a persecution, equally abhorrent from every maxim of good government, and every principle of genuine Christianity. We congratulate our country on such a large addition to the public domain of mind, the cultivation and produce of which may, in some degree, compensate for past waste and negligence. We congratulate the empire, that the loss of three millions across the Atlantic, is supplied by the timely acquisition of the same number at home.

We congratulate the constitution, that new life is transfused into its veins at a period of decay and decrepitude; and we trust that the heroism which suffered with such constancy for the sake of religion, will now change into a heroism, that shall act with equal steadiness and consistency for the freedom, the honour, and the independence of this country.

By the wise benevolence of the sovereign, by the enlightened spirit of the times, by the union of religious persuasions for the good of civil society, by the spirit, prudence, and consistency of the Catholic committee, who, during their whole existence, were true to the trust reposed in them, and whose last breath sanctified the expediency and necessity of a Parliamentary Reform; by these causes, along with other fortunate coincidences, you have been admitted into the outer court of the constitution. Look around you—but without superstitious awe, or idolatrous prostration, for the edifice you enter is not a temple, but a dwelling. Enter, therefore, with erect heads, and yet with grateful hearts; grateful to your king —grateful to your country, attached to the constitution by manly principle, not by childish prejudice; faithful to your friends through every change, either of their fortune or your own; and if not forgetful of the virulence of your enemies, having always the magnanimity to pity and to despise them.

Loving the constitution rationally, not adopted merely to its infirmities, loving it too well to dote upon its abuses, you must shortly be sensible, that, without reform, the balance of the elective franchise will be more off the centre than before, the inequality of popular representation more glaring and monstrous, the disproportion more enormous between the number of electors in thirty-two counties, and that in the boroughs from which you are excluded. What was kept close and corrupt before, will be close and corrupt still; common right will still be private property: and the constitution will be imprisoned under the lock and key of corporations. The æra of your enfranchisement will therefore eventually work

the weal or woe of Ireland. We do trust that you will not be incorporated merely with the body of the constitution, without adding to its spirit. You are called into citizenship not to sanction abuse, but to discountenance it, not to accumulate corruption but to meliorate manners, and infuse into society purer practice and sounder morality; always separating in thought and action, mis-government and mal-administration from the good-sense and right-reason natural to, and coeval with the constitution; and always remembering that nothing can be good for any part of the nation which has not for its object the interest of the whole.

Fellow-Citizens!—We speak to you with much earnestness of affection, repeating with sincerest pleasure, that tender and domestic appellation which binds us into one people. But what is it which has lately made and must keep us one? Not the soil we inhabit, not the language we use, but our singleness of sentiment respecting one great political truth, our indivisible union on the main object of general interest—a Parliamentary Reform. This is the civic faith for which this society exists, and for which it suffers under a persecution that still, as of old, savage in its nature, though somewhat smoother in its form, wreaks its mighty vengeance on person and property, or exerts its puny malice to ruin us in the professions by which we live, merely for an undaunted adherence to a single good and glorious principle, which has always animated our publications and will always regulate our practice. We conjure you, in the most solemn manner, to remember, with the respect due to such authority, the last words, the political will and testament of a body of men who have deserved so well of their constituents and of their country. Never forget them—never forsake them! Let this principle of reform live in your practice, and give energy to the new character you are about to sustain, for the glory or the disgrace of Ireland, &c.

June 21st, 1793.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN, DUBLIN, TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Henry Sheares, *President.*
William Levingston Webb, *Sec.*

When the present war first threatened this nation with the calamities, under which it has since groaned, and by which it is at this moment almost overwhelmed, we warned you of the approaching danger, and sought by a timely caution to avert the consequent ruin. We told you it was a measure, fraught with destruction to your infant manufactures, to your growing commerce, and to your almost mature spirit. How far the prediction we then uttered has been justified by the event, let the surrounding miseries of this country determine:—an expiring and nearly extinguished credit, the pride of commerce humbled and disgraced, the cries of famine re-echoed through encreasing thousands of your manufacturers, discarded from the exercise of their honest labour, driven into penury and inaction; and compelled to seek an uncertain subsistence from the humanity of their more affluent, though less industrious fellow-citizens. Such are the effects, and such were the predicted consequences of a war, commenced without provocation, and which, if suffered to continue a few months longer, must inevitably produce national shame, national bankruptcy, and national destruction.

We declared that the persecution of principles, was the real object of the war, whatever pretexts may be laid out. Judge of this assertion also by the event—Behold the external invasion against liberty seconded by internal outrages on your most valued rights—Behold your band of patriots, once embodied and exulting in the glorious cause of freedom; once the pride of Ireland, and the admiration of attentive Europe, your Volunteers, now insulted and disarmed—Behold your loved, your revered, your idolized Palladium, the trial by jury, profaned and violated;

trampled in the dust by the unhallowed foot of undefined privilege—Behold your faithful friends, for daring to step forward in your defence, dragged to a loathsome prison, and loaded with every injury, which falsehood and tyranny could suggest.

What has been the case? although the war has yet existed but a few months, its dire effects have already pierced the very marrow of society. Those indeed, who advised to plunge you into all its horrors, have not suffered the slightest inconveniencies: but is there an artificer of any description, a manufacturer of any denomination, a single Irishmen who lives by his honest industry, who has not wholly or in part been deprived of his means of sustenance? all export is destroyed, except the export of specie, wrung from the hard hand of labour to pamper the luxury of absentees. Every trade is suspended, except the trade of corruption, which flourishes by the impoverishment of this devoted soil.

Assemble in your parishes, in your towns, in your counties and in your provinces, there speak forth your sentiments, and let your will be known. With the firm voice of injured millions, require a peace, pursue the example of the Catholic convention, unite order with spirit, tranquillity with action. Like them, carry your wishes to the throne itself, and fear not for their success; but like them, whilst you seek a remedy for your present sufferings, ever remember that a radical reform in the system of representation, is the only means of avoiding a repetition of them. Call on your king to chain down the monster war, which has devoured your commerce, which gorges its hateful appetite by preying on the wretchedness of your manufacturers, and enslaving them for life, the instruments of tyranny and slaughter; call on him to spurn from his councils, those who shall assert that you are bound to rob and to be robbed, to murder and to be murdered, to inflict and to endure all the complicated miseries of war, because an unfeeling policy should dictate the horrid act; call on him to give you peace, &c.

SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN, TO THE IRISH NATION.

William Drennan, *Chairman.*
Archibald Hamilton Rowan, *Secretary.*

January 27th, 1793.

It is our right and our duty at this time and at all times, to communicate our opinion to the public, whatever may be its success; and under the protection of a free-press, itself protected by a jury, judges of law as well as fact, we will never be afraid to speak freely what we freely think, appealing for the purity of our intentions to the world, and as far as these intentions are manifested by word, writing, and action, appealing to the justness of our cause, and the judgment of our country.

On the 9th of November, 1791, was this society founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfast, first began that civic union, which, if a nation be a society united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and at a time when all wished, many willed, and few spoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Protestants, joined our hands and our hearts together, sunk every distinctive appellation in the name Irishman, and in the presence of God, devoted ourselves to universal enfranchisement, and a real representation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a resting-place; gradually, though not slowly, throughout the country, other stations of safety appeared, and what before was agitated, became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and spirit of our societies increased, until selfish corporations, sunk into conscious insignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Irish people.

We have, in our digest of the penal laws, addressed ourselves, successfully, to the good sense, humanity, and generous indignation of all Ireland, convincing public reason, alarming public conscience, and holding up this collection of bloody fragments as

a terrible memorial of government without justice, and of legality without constitution. It has been our rule and our practice never to enter into compromise or composition with a noxious principle, and we have therefore set our face, and lifted our voice, against this persecuting and pusillanimous code, as against the murderer of our brother, eager to erase the whole of it from the statute-book as it erased our countrymen from the state, and wishing to proscribe such an incongruous and monstrous conjunction of terms as Penal Law, not only from a digest of the laws but from the dictionary of the language.

It has appeared our duty in times such as these, when the head is nothing without the heart, and with men such as we oppose, not only to write and speak, but to act and suffer; to reckon nothing hazardous, provided it was necessary; to come forward with the intrepidity which a good cause inspires, and a backward people required; in going far ourselves, to make others to follow faster, though, all the time conjuring us to retreat;—in short, to make the retrograde stationary, and the stationary progressive; to quicken the dead, and add a soul to the living.

Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the press is to the people, though nearly blasted in our cradle by the sorcery of solicitors of law, and general attorneys, we have persisted with courageous perseverance to rally around this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the constitution at the risk of personal security, property, and all that was dear to us. They have come to us with a writ and a warrant, and an ex-officio information, but we have come to them in the name of the genius of the British constitution, and the majesty of the people of Ireland. Is sedition against the officers of administration to exercise the criminal jurisdiction of the country, and is sedition against the people to walk by with arrogant impunity?

We have defended the violated liberty of the subject against the undefined and voracious privilege of the House of Commons, treating with merited scorn

the insolent menaces of men inflated with office, and not only have we maintained the rights of the people at the bar of this branch of the legislature, but we have, at the bench of judicature, vindicated the right of the nation, its real independence and supremacy; demonstrating that general inviolability was made transmissible to one or many deputies, to the utter extinction of responsibility—the evasion of criminality; and that the executive power of imperial and independent Ireland, was merely a dangling appendage to the great seal of Great Britain. Not a man so low, that, if oppressed by an assumption of power, civil or military, has not met with our counsel, our purse, and our protection; not a man so high, that if acting contrary to popular right or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgment-seat of justice, and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

We have encountered much calumny. We have, among a thousand contradictory epithets, been called republicans and levellers, as if by artfully making the terms appear synonymous, their nature could be made the same; as if a republican were a leveller, or a leveller a republican; as if the only leveller was not the despot who crushes with an iron sceptre every rank and degree of society into one; as if republican or democratic energy was not—as well as aristocratical privilege, or regal prerogative—sanctioned by the fundamental principles of the constitution, by all those memorable precedents which form its first features, and by which the just and virtuous struggles of our ancestors, recognized by successive generations, point out to their posterity when they ought to interpose, and how long they ought to suffer. In his words, whose name rests unknown, but whose fame is immortal,* we desire "that the constitution may preserve its monarchical form, but we would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican." Are you not sensible that

* Junius.

this cry of republicanism, as the clamour against Catholic delegation, has been raised and prolonged by the mischievous malignity of the lowest gossips of government, merely to drown the general voice for reform, like the state manœuvre which ordered a flourish of trumpets and alarm of drums, at the side of suffering patriots, when they wished to address themselves to the reason and justice of the people.—But we will speak, and you will hear. Yes, countrymen, we do desire that extended liberty which may allow you, as citizens, to do what you will, provided you do not injure another, or rather to do all the good you can to others, without doing injustice to yourselves. Yes, countrymen, we do wish for an equality of rights, which is constitutional; not an equality of property, which is impossible. Yes, countrymen, we do long for another equality, and we hope yet to see it realized—an equality consisting in the power of every father of a family to acquire by labour either of mind or body, something beyond a mere subsistence, some little capital, to prove, in case of sickness, old age, or misfortune, a safeguard for his body and for his soul; a hallowed hoard that may lift him above the hard necessity which struggles between conscience and corruption; that may keep his heart whole and his spirit erect, while his body bends beneath its burden; make him fling away the wages of venality, and proudly return to a humble home, where a constitution that looks alike on the palace and the hovel, may stand at his hearth a tutelar divinity, and spread the ægis of equal law to guard him from the revenge of those who offered the bribe, and offered it in vain, &c.

We have addressed the Friends of the People in England, and have received their concurrence, their thanks, and their gratulation. We have addressed the Volunteers. Deliverers of this injured land, have we done wrong?—if we have, tear your colours from the staff—reverse your arms—muffle your drums—beat a funeral march for Ireland, and then

abandon the corpse to Fencibles, to Militia, to Invalids, and Dismounted Dragoons. If we have not done wrong—and we swear by the Revolution of 82 that we have not—go on with the zeal of enterprising virtue, and a sense of your own importance, to exercise that right of self-defence which belongs to the Nation, and to infuse constitutional energy into the public will, for the public good, &c.

We address your understanding—the common sense of the common-weal—and we ask you, is it not a *truth* that where the people do not participate in the legislature by a delegation of representatives, freely, fairly, and frequently elected, there can be no public liberty? Is it not the *fact* that in this country there is no representative legislature, because the people are not represented in the legislature, and have no partnership in the constitution? If it be the principle of the constitution, that it is the right of every commoner in this realm to have a vote in the election of his representative, and that without such vote, no man can be actually represented, it is our wish, in that case, to renovate that constitution, and to revive its suspended animation, by giving free motion and full play to its vital principle. If, on the other hand, the constitution does not fully provide for an impartial and adequate representation of all the people; if it be more exclusive than inclusive in its nature; if it be a monopoly, a privilege, or a prerogative;—in that case it is our desire to alter it; for what is the constitution to us if we are as nothing to the constitution? Is the constitution made for you, or you for it? If the people do not constitute a part of it, what is it to them more than the ghost of Alfred; and what are principles without practice, which they hear and read, to practice without principles which they see and feel? &c.*

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* The above was written by Dr. Drennan.

February 10th, 1793.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

Hon. Simon Butler, *Chairman.*
Oliver Bond, *Secretary.*

Report of a Committee appointed to enquire into the tendency of the war with France, of the raising of the Militia, &c.

That whatever pretexts may be held out, the real objects of the war about to be declared against France, appear to this society to be not merely to punish crimes, but to persecute principle; not merely to protect the allies of these kingdoms, but to produce a counter-revolution in France; not merely to check the progress of republicanism in Great Britain and Ireland, but to stop the progress of liberty throughout Europe; and this society is convinced that this war would never be carried on, if it did not tend to effectuate a treaty, or rather a conspiracy, entered into by tyrants and abettors of tyranny, when France had committed no crime—unless the emancipation of twenty-four millions of men be one.

That it appears to this society, that a war, which must be chiefly waged at sea, and which, however successful, can scarcely be maintained except to the ruin of commerce, is peculiarly dangerous to this island, the prosperity of which depends almost entirely upon its trade, and the commercial credit and confidence of which have already been insidiously shaken to a degree which every merchant and trader feels, and which several of its infant manufactures have lamentably experienced.

That this society, firmly attached, from serious deliberation and conviction, to a reform in the representation of the people in parliament, and to a government by king, lords, and commons, cannot but come forward publicly to express its disapprobation and sorrow at a war, the tendency of which, if successful, must be to perpetuate inveterate abuses, and, if un-

fortunate, may lead to the establishing of systems of government untried in this country, and the apprehension of which is alleged as a principal reason for engaging in hostility.

That it appears to this society, not only inexpedient, but an infatuation amounting almost to madness, to subject Ireland, labouring under grievances hardly submitted to in time of peace, to the invasion of men, who profess to carry along with them, "not fire and sword—but liberty." And if a war with France be in truth unavoidable, a redress of those grievances, more peculiarly by a *total* emancipation of the Catholics, and by a radical reform in parliament, ought to be considered as an indispensable *preliminary*.

That it appears to this society, that the tendency of raising the militia in this kingdom, is to invest an ever-grasping administration with an enormous and alarming patronage, to extend its influence wide beyond the walls of Parliament, and to diffuse corruption through all classes of the people.

That it has also another afflicting tendency, namely, to repress, and if possible to destroy, the Volunteer institution, by which this Island was once before defended in time of war, and to which we again look, almost exclusively, for the protection of ourselves and of our constitution, in the awful crisis that awaits us.

That it appears to be intended, by the bill now depending in parliament, entitled, "A Bill to prevent the importation of arms and gunpowder into this kingdom, and the removing and keeping of gunpowder without licence," to prohibit the importation into this country of arms, ammunition, gunpowder, or military stores, by any of his Majesty's subjects, under penalty of forfeiture of the same, and also of the sum of £500: a precaution which cannot but appear extremely singular at the commencement of a war; a period, when it is the usual policy of States to encourage the importation of all articles necessary for defence, and to discourage their expor-

tation; and the only exception to this extraordinary prohibition, is a particular and special licence, difficult to be obtained, and which may be refused.

That it appears to this society, that the palpable tendency of this bill is to enact, *as against the whole body of the people,* the rigour of that penal code, respecting the keeping and using of arms, which it is professed is intended to be partially repealed, as in favour of the Catholics, &c.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, March 1st, 1793.

The Honourable Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond, appeared at the bar in pursuance of their summonses.

Lord Mountjoy proposed, that the following paper, which he had read on the night preceding, and which had the names of the persons at the bar prefixed to it, should be submitted to their inspection.

24th February, 1793.

UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

Hon. Simon Butler, *Chairman.*
Oliver Bond, *Secretary.*

When a committee of secrecy was first appointed by the House of Lords, to enquire into the causes of the risings in certain counties of this kingdom; although this society well foresaw the danger of abuse, to which such an institution was subject, yet, it was restrained from expressing that opinion, by the utility of the professed object, and by the hope, that the presence and advice of the two first judicial officers of this country, would prevent that committee from doing those illegal acts, which less informed men might in such a situation commit.

But since it has thought fit to change itself, from a committee to enquire into the risings in certain

counties of this kingdom, into an Inquisition, to scrutinize the private principles and secret thoughts of individuals; since it has not confined itself to simple enquiries and voluntary informations, but has assumed the right and exercised the power of compelling attendance, and enforcing answers upon oath to personal interrogatories, tending to criminate the party examined; since its researches are not confined to the professed purposes of its institution, but directed principally to the discovery of evidence in support of prosecutions hitherto commenced, and utterly unconnected with the cause of the tumults it was appointed to investigate; since in its proceedings it has violated well-ascertained principles of law, this society feels itself compelled to warn the public mind, and point the public attention to the following observations:—

That the House of Lords can act only in a legislative or judicial capacity.

That in its legislative capacity it has no authority to administer an oath.

That in its judicial capacity, it has a right to administer an oath; but that capacity extends only to error and appeal, except in cases of impeachment and trial of a peer, in which alone the House of Lords exercises an original jurisdiction.

That the House of Lords, as a court, has no right to act by delegation.

That the committee of secrecy possesses no authority, but what it derives by delegation from the House of Lords.

That as the House of Lords does not possess any jurisdiction in the subject matter referred to the committee; and as, even if it did, it could not delegate the same, it necessarily follows, that the committee has not judicial authority, and cannot administer an oath.

That even if the committee of secrecy acted as a court, its proceedings ought not to be secret.

That no court has a right to exhibit personal interrogatories upon oath, the answers to which may

criminate the party examined, except at the desire of the party, and with a view to purge him from a contempt.

That it was the principal vice of the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, to examine upon personal interrogatories, to convict the party examined; and that those courts were abolished, because their proceedings were illegal, unconstitutional and oppressive.

This paper was accordingly delivered into the hands of Mr. Butler, by the gentleman usher; after he had seen it, he was asked by Lord Mountjoy, if that paper, bearing his name, was printed by his directions or authority?

Mr. Butler said, that the paper contained a declaration of the Society of United Irishmen of the City of Dublin, and bore date the 24th February, 1793; that he presided at the meeting; that as chairman, he put the question on the several paragraphs, according as they were handed to him by the committee, which had been appointed to prepare them; that he was then, and is still satisfied, that every paragraph of that declaration was agreeable to law, and the principles of the constitution.

Lord Mountjoy said, that Mr. Butler had not yet answered, whether he authorized the publication?

Mr. Butler replied, that he meant to give the fullest information on the subject; he did authorize the publication, he authorized it in common with every individual of the society.

Mr. Bond was then interrogated. He was asked whether he had signed the paper, he replied that neither he, nor Mr. Butler, had signed the paper. The resolutions of the society are referred to the committee of correspondence for publication. The committee cause the names of the chairman and secretary to be prefixed to every publication. That as secretary he delivered this declaration to the committee of correspondence. And, on being asked, by Lord Clonmell, whether he delivered it to the com-

mittee for the purpose of publication, and whether he thereby authorized the publication, he replied in the affirmative.

The Lord Chancellor then asked Mr. Butler, whether he had any thing further to add. Mr. Butler said, that he attended to answer questions; that if is lordship had any questions to ask, he (Mr. Butler) was ready to answer.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Bond were ordered to withdraw, but not to leave the House.

They were shortly afterwards again ordered to the bar, and the following resolutions, agreed to by the House in their absence, having been read, viz.—

That the said paper was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel; a high breach of the privileges of this House, tending to disturb the public peace, and questioning the anthority of this High Court of Parliament.

That Simon Butler and Oliver Bond having confessed that they had authorized the same to be printed, should be taken into custody.

They were committed to the custody of the gentleman usher, and ordered to withdraw in such custody.

In some time afterwards they were brought to the bar, in custody of the gentleman usher.

The Lord Chancellor, after reciting the foregoing resolutions, spoke to the following purport: "Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, you were called to the bar to answer for a libel on this High Court of Parliament; you have confessed that such libel, which for its presumption, ignorance, and mischievous tendency, is unprecedented, was printed by your authority. You, Simon Butler, cannot plead ignorance in extenuation; your noble birth, your education, the honourable profession to which you belong, his majesty's gown which you wear, and to which you now stand a disgrace, gave you the advantages of knowledge, and are strong circumstances of aggravation of your guilt. It remains for me to pronounce the judgement of the House, which is, that

you, Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, be imprisoned six months in the gaol of Newgate; that each of you pay a fine to the king of £500, and that you are not to be discharged from your confinement till such fine be paid."

They were taken from the bar, and in a short time after conveyed in a coach to Newgate, under the escort of fifty or sixty soldiers, and directions of Alderman Warren.

March 3, 1793.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Beauchamp Bagenel Harvey, *Chairman.*
Thomas Russell, *Secretary.*

We have often addressed you in *your* cause; suffer us for once to address you in *our own.* Two of the officers of our society have been thrown into a common prison, for the discharge of their duty:—a procedure so extraordinary, demands that we should lay before you the whole of that conduct which has brought upon the society so strong an exertion of power.

The Society of United Irishmen was formed in November, 1791. Their principles, their motives, and their objects, were set forth in their Declaration and their Test. At that period the spirit of this nation was at the lowest ebb: the great religious sects were disunited; the Protestants were disheartened and sunk by the memorable defeat of their convention in 1783; the Catholics, without allies or supporters, accustomed to look to administration alone for relief, dared scarcely aspire to hope for the lowest degree of emancipation, and even that hope was repelled with contumely and disdain; administration was omnipotent, opposition was feeble, and the people were—nothing.

Such was the situation of Ireland, when in Belfast and in Dublin two societies were formed, for the

purpose of effectuating an union of the religious sects, and a parliamentary reform. From the instant of their formation, a new æra commenced: the public has been roused from their stupor, the ancient energy of the land is again called forth, and the people seem determined, in the spirit of 1782, to demand and to obtain their long-lost rights.

The first measure of the United Irishmen was, a declaration in favour of the full and complete emancipation of the Catholics.—What was the consequence? The moment that great and oppressed body saw itself supported by a single ally, they spurned the vile subjection in which they had been so long held, and with the heavy yoke of the penal laws yet hanging on their necks, they summoned their representatives from the four provinces of the kingdom, and with the determined voice of millions, they called upon their sovereign for a total abolition of that abominable and bloody code: a code, the extent and severity of which was first made known by a report set forth by this society, and compiled by the knowledge and industry of that man who is now the victim of his disinterested patriotism, and who, in publishing to the world the abominations of intolerance, bigotry, and persecution, has committed a sin against corruption which can never be forgiven.

If the knowledge of that penal code has been useful, if the complete union of the religious sects has been beneficial, if the emancipation of Catholics be good for Ireland, then may this society claim some merit, and some support, from their countrymen.

In 1791, there was not a body of men in Ireland that ventured to speak, or scarce to think, of reform. The utmost length that patriots of that day went, was to attack a few of the outworks of corruption—the Societies of United Irishmen stormed her in the citadel. They did not fritter down the public spirit, or distract the public attention by a variety of petty measures, they were not afraid to clip the wings of peculation too close, or to cut up the trade of parliament by the roots. They demanded a parliamentary

reform, and what has been the consequence? The cry has been re-echoed from county to county, and from province to province, till every honest man in the nation has become ardent in the pursuit; and even the tardy and lingering justice of parliament has been forced into a recognition of the principle. If, then, reform be good for Ireland, this society, which first renewed the pursuit of that great object, may claim some merit, and some support from their countrymen.

At the opening of this session every man thought that the unanimous wish of the nation on the two great questions must be gratified;—that the Catholics must be completely emancipated, and a radical reform in parliament effectuated; but this delusion was soon removed. It was suddenly discovered that it was necessary to have a strong government in Ireland; a war was declared against France, ruinous to the rising prosperity of this country; 20,000 regular troops, and 16,000 militia were voted, and the famous gunpowder bill passed, by the unanimous consent of all parties in parliament; the Society of United Irishmen, a vigilant sentinel for the public good, warned their countrymen of the danger impending over their liberty and their commerce; they knew, in doing so they were exposing themselves to the fury of government, but they disregarded their own private safety when the good of their country was at stake. They could not hope to stop these measures, for they had no power, but what they could they did; they lodged their solemn protest against them before the great tribunal of the nation.

In the progress of the present session, it was thought necessary by the House of Lords to establish a secret committee, to investigate the cause of the disturbances now existing in a few counties in this kingdom. The examination of several individuals having transpired, the Society of United Irishmen felt it their duty to step forward again, and to give such information to their countrymen as might be necessary for their guidance. They stated a few

plain principles, which they did then and do now conceive to be sound constitutional law; but now the measure of their offences was full, and the heavy hand of power, so long withheld, was to fall with treble weight upon their heads. Their chairman, the Hon. Simon Butler, and their secretary, Mr. Oliver Bond, were summoned before the House of Lords; they were called upon to avow or disavow the publication: they avowed it at once, with the spirit and magnanimity of men who deserved to be free. For this, they have been sentenced, with a severity unexampled in the parliamentary annals of this country, to be imprisoned in Newgate for six months, and to pay a fine of £500 each; and to remain in prison until the said fines be paid. By this sentence, two gentlemen, one of noble birth, of great talents, and elevated situation in an honourable profession; the other a merchant of the fairest character, the highest respectability, and in great and extensive business; are torn away from their families and connexions, carried through the streets with a military guard, and plunged like felons into the common gaol, where they are in an instant confined among the vilest malefactors, the dross and scum of the earth, *and this sentence was pronounced by a body, who are at once judges, and parties who measure the offence, proportion the punishment, and from whose sentence there lies no appeal.*

We do not mention here criminal prosecutions, instituted against several of our members in the courts of law, for publishing and distributing our address to the Volunteers of Ireland; respect for the existing laws of our country imposes upon us a silence, which no provocation shall induce us to break; *we know when juries intervene, that justice will be done.*

Such is the history of the society, and such are the enormities which have drawn upon them the persecution under which they now labour. Their prime offence is their devoted attachment to reform; an attachment which, in the eyes of a bad adminis-

tration, includes all political sin; their next offence, is an ardent wish for a complete and total, not a partial and illusory, emancipation of the Catholics; their next offence is, having published a strong censure on the impending ruinous war, on the militia and gunpowder acts; and, finally, the crowning offence for which those officers now lie in gaol, by order of the House of Lords, is having instructed their countrymen in what they conceive to be the law of the land, for the guidance of those who might be summoned before the secret committee, &c.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF DUBLIN.

John Sheares, *Chairman.*
W. B. Webb, *Secretary.*

To the Hon. Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esq.

Gentlemen, our dear and respected Friends!

On the first of March we saw you enter into prison, with an air and manner that testified not only a serene and settled conviction in the justice of your cause, but a cheerful confidence in your own fortitude to sustain all the consequences that an attachment to this cause might bring upon you: and we now see you, after an imprisonment of six months, come out with the same unbending spirit; in the same health of body; with the same alacrity of mind; both preserved sound and unaltered, probably from the same cause, that vital energy which a sense of unmerited suffering, and the consciousness of doing our duty, never fail to communicate. It is this conscious sense of unmerited injury, that refreshes the soul amidst the closest confinement, blows up the spark of life, and invigorates both the head and the heart. This, which made Mirabeau write for liberty in a dungeon, while his enemies conspired against it in the anti-chamber; this, which expanded the soul of Raleigh, gave it power to

wander at large, and, in spite of bars, in defiance of gaolers, to leave the narrow cell where his body lay, and write for posterity, a History of the World.

Notwithstanding the irresistible argument of six months imprisonment in a common gaol, we are still inclined to lament, that the law and custom of parliament should ever have entered into a contest with the liberty of the press and the rights of the people; and that a discretionary power of punishment should so often supersede the ordinary course of criminal jurisdiction and the sacred trial by jury. We continue still inclined to believe, that all undefined and irresponsible power, by whatever person or body assumed, is in its nature despotic. And that the vigilance of the people, and the censorship of the press, are the only means of guarding against its deadening influence, and preserving those barriers which the spirit of free government ought to place between the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. We still think, that particular and anxious care ought to be taken, never to mingle and confound the legislative and judicial powers, for the conjunction is politically incestuous, and the production is always a monster.

Gentlemen, your country is much your debtor. But we must suppose you by this time too well experienced in the mutability of public opinion, to expect that she will for the present, acknowledge the debt, much less, return the obligation; that she will either sympathise with what you have suffered, or partake in our heartfelt joy at your enlargement. Indeed, you will scarcely now know your country, in a few months so much altered. Indisposed to condole or to congratulate, desponding without reason, exhausted without effort, she sits on the ground, in a fit of mental alienation; unconscious of her real malady, scared at every whisper; her thousand ears open for falsehoods from abroad, her thousand eyes shut against the truth at home; worked up by false suggestions and artful insinuations, to such a madness of suspicion, as makes her mistake her dearest friends

for her deadliest foes, and revile the only society which ever pursued her welfare with spirit and perseverance, as attempting at her life with the torch of an incendiary and the dagger of an assassin.

From a public, thus inquisitive about the affairs of other people, thus incurious about its own, thus deluded—we were going to say, in language of high authority, thus besotted—we appeal for your fame, and our own justification, to the same public, in a more collected, a more sober, a more dignified moment: when the perishable politics of party in place, and party out of place, shall have passed away like the almanack of the year; when the light shall break in on an underworking family compact, whose business it has been to conceal the real situation and sentiments of this country, from the immediate councils of the sovereign; when a compromising, parlying, panic-struck opposition, negotiating without authority, surrendering without condition, shall repent of their pusillanimous credulity; and, when the nation shall dare to acknowledge as a truth, what in its conscience it feels as a fact, that those only are her friends who stand up while all are prostrate around them, and call aloud on ministry and on opposition for reform, radical, comprehensive, immediate; such as will nationalize liberty, and make this country cease to be what it has been well described, "a heavy-handed unfeeling aristocracy over a people, ferocious and rendered desperate by poverty and wretchedness." But if such a time should not soon arrive; if this country should remain still abused and contented; there is a world elsewhere. Wherever freedom is, there is our country, and there ought to be our home. Let this government take care. Let them think of depopulation, and tremble. Who makes the rich?—the poor. What makes the shuttle fly, and the plough cleave the furrows?—the poor. Should the poor emigrate, what would become of you, proud, powerful, silly men! What would become of you, if the ears of corn should wither on the stalk, and the labours of the loom

should cease? who would feed you then if hungry, or clothe you when naked? Give the poor a country, or you will lose one yourselves. Mankind, like other commodities, will follow the demand; and, if depreciated here below all value, will fly to a better market.

Gentlemen, we again salute you with great respect and affection, as friends and brothers. We salute you, in the unity of an honest and honourable cause. May you receive the reward of your sufferings, and triumph in the freedom of your country.

Friday, 16th August, 1793.

The Honourable Simon Butler and Oliver Bond, Esq. Returned the following answer.

We received the honour of your spirited and affectionate address, with equal pride and gratitude. You have done justice to the feelings which have supported us under our imprisonments; and, if our situation required adventitious consolation, the patriotic attention of our numerous friends has most amply supplied it. Our sufferings have not warped our understandings; and we still think, that we only discharge an indispensible duty, while we treat all public topics with free discussion, preserving a due respect for the public peace, and the laws of the land. We will only boast of our constitution when it knows no power which is not responsible. Prerogative, founded upon the salutary maxim, that the king can do no wrong, held forth at all times some relief in the responsibility of the minister; but privilege, which arrogates to itself a like constitutional principle, precludes all resource whatsoever against its illegal or arbitrary exercise; acknowledging no control, no corrective, it regards not the forms of law; and while it remains undefined and irresponsible, there is no safety in the land. We have thought it our duty to seek redress, but we sought it in vain. We have not even received countenance in the quarter where the nation might have looked for support.

We have not however, submitted. We have suffered. We are now precluded from the possibility of contesting the legality of the fine imposed on us, for the payment thereof has been enforced at the treasury, without passing through the ordinary medium of the revenue side of the exchequer, where we might have instituted a legal enquiry into the matter before the barons of that court, from whose decision there can be no appeal, or writ of error to the House of Lords.

A variety of causes may be assigned for the discontented stillness which prevails: the landed interest forms a body very nearly of an aristocratic complexion; the commercial interest is involved in public and private embarrassment; the manufacturers are without a sufficiency of employment, and credit has scarcely an existence. But, notwithstanding the prevalence of this sullen torpor, let us not despair of our country. Although manœuvres to frustrate public energy are various, hardy and successful; nevertheless, a wanton sacrifice of personal liberty, and a lawless plunder of private property, will not fail to make an impression proportionate to their enormity. We lament the arbitrary intemperance which has determined very many valuable and opulent members of the community to emigrate. And although we exult in the existence of a new world, in which freedom is secured, and equal law duly administered to a nation of citizens; yet, in our opinion, we should not abandon our country to seek those blessings in a foreign land, until we shall have exhausted every constitutional effort to establish them at home. In that great cause we are bound to suffer as well as to act, and from the performance of that duty we have not shrunk. In the infamy of our imprisonment we take pride, for we take pride in our cause. A Selden has been cast into a common prison before us, and yet he survived the despotism which violated the law and oppressed his country.

No. IV.

RELIGION PROFESSED BY THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE UNITED IRISH SOCIETY, OR PERSONS SUSPECTED OF SO BEING.

The following names in brackets, are those of the state prisoners who had been confined in Fort George.

Protestants.	Presbyterians.	Catholics.
Thomas A. Emmett, Bar.	William Tennant, M.D.	W. J. M'Nevin, M.D.
Arthur O'Connor, "	Robert Simms,	John Sweeny,
Roger O'Connor, "	Samuel Neilson,	Joseph Cormick,
Thomas Russell,	George Cumming,	John Sweetman,
John Chambers,	Joseph Cuthbert,	
Matthew Dowling,	Rev. W. Steele Dickson,	
Edward Hudson,		
Hugh Wilson,		
William Dowdall,		
Robert Hunter,		
Hon. Simon Butler, Bar.	William Drennan, M.D.	Peter Finnerty,
A. H. Rowan,	* William Orr,	* William Michael Byrne,
James Napper Tandy,	* Samuel Orr,	* John M'Cann,
Lord Edward Fitzgerald,	William Putnam M'Cabe,	* J. Esmond, M.D.
* Henry Sheares, Bar.	* Henry Monroe,	William Lawless,
* John Sheares, "	* James Dickey, Attor.	Edward John Lewins,
Oliver Bond,	Henry Haslett,	* William Byrne,
* B. B. Harvey,	William Sampson, Bar.	* Walter Devereux,
* Leonard M'Nally, Bar.	* Henry Joy M'Cracken,	John Devereux, (the Gen. Devereux,)
John Russell,	William Sinclair,	Garret Byrne,
* Anthony Perry,	J. Sinclair,	* Esmond Kyan,
* T. W. Tone, Bar.	Robert M'Gee, M.D.	Charles Teeling,
* Bartholomew Tone,	Israel Milliken,	Bartholomew Teeling,
Thomas Wright,	Gilbert M'Ilvain, jun.	Richard M'Cormick,
Wm. Levingston Webb,	Robert Byers,	Thomas Doorley,
William Hamilton,	* Henry Byers,	* Felix Rourke,
Matthew Dowling, Attor.	S. Kennedy,	Bernard Mahon,
Richard Kirwan,†	Robert Hunter,	John Sweetman,
James Reynolds, M.D.	Robert Orr,	E. Fitzgerald, (Wexford,)
Deane Swift, Bar.	Hugh Grimes,	William Aylmer,
* Matthew Keogh,	William Kean,	* S. Barrett,
Thomas Corbett,	James Burnside,	Ferdinand O'Donnell,
William Corbett,	James Greer,	* Col. O'Doude,
William Weir,	Rowley Osborne,	* John Kelly,
John Allen,	Mr. Turner,	Thomas Cloney,
Thomas Bacon,	William Simms,	* John Clinch,
Robert Emmett,	John Rabb,	James Farrell,
Joseph Holt,	James Hope,	Michael Dwyer.

The Clergy who were implicated, or accused of being concerned in the Rebellion, were the following :—

Presbyterians.	Catholics.
* Rev. Mr. Warwick,	* Rev. Moses Kearns,
Rev. W. Steele Dickson,	* Rev. John Murphy,
* Rev. William Porter,	Rev. Michael Murphy,
Rev. Mr. Barber,	Rev. Mr. Kavanagh,
Rev. Mr. Mahon,	* Rev. Mr. Redmond,
Rev. Mr. Birch,	Rev. Mr. Stafford,
Rev. Mr. Ward,	* Rev. P. Roche,
Rev. Mr. Smith,	Rev. H. O'Keon,
Rev. Mr. Sinclair,	* Rev. Mr. Prendergast,
* Rev. Mr. Stevelly,	Rev. Mr. Harrold,
Rev. Mr. M'Neill,	* Rev. J. Quigley,
Rev. Mr. Simpson,	Rev. Dennis Taafe.

* Those marked (*) were executed.

† The eminent chemist and mineralogist, Richard Kirwan, on the authority of Dr. M'Nevin, was sworn by him, Dr. M'N.

The preceding list of the names of the leaders of the United Irishmen, include those of the actors in the rebellion, as well as those of the originators and organizers of it; but if we separate the one from the other, and enumerate the organizing leaders, we shall find that the Protestant and Presbyterian members, compared with the Roman Catholic members, are in the proportion of about four to one. There never was a greater mistake than to call this struggle a Popish rebellion: the movement was pre-eminently a Protestant one.

No. V.

A COMPLETE COPY OF ONE NUMBER OF THE UNION STAR.

As the Union Star is an official paper, the managers promise the public that no characters shall be hazarded through its medium, but such as are denounced by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt and his sanguinary journeyman Luttrell.

The Star will be published occasionally, as new and notorious characters appear, which the committee may think proper to guard the Society of United Irishmen against.

The Star offers to Public Justice the following detestable traitors as perjured spies and informers:—

"Perhaps some arm, more lucky than the rest, may reach his heart and free the world from bondage."

William J——s, about six feet high, corpulent, lives in William-street, better known by the name

of Alderman Level-low, from some horrid murders he committed in Meath-street, under the name of laws, which are constructed to leave the lives and properties of Irishmen to the mercy of ignorant and abandoned magistrates. This nefarious upstart, in answer to a club of wretches calling themselves Aldermen of Skinner's-alley, boasts of a Constitution and Protestant ascendancy, secured by the blood and treasure of his forefathers. 'Tis notorious his forefathers were a long line of bricklayers' labourers. Though not at the battle of the Boyne or Aughrim, yet we acknowledge his grandfather died about that period, though he did not bleed, as his valuable life was squeezed out under the gallows for sheep-stealing. The Constitution and Protestant faith were rather ungrateful to the alderman and his cousin Nat, for the blood and treasures of the family so gloriously spent, by suffering those illustrious young gentlemen to begin a mercantile life, as root merchants, in a cellar in Bride-street, where our alderman often displayed his loyalty every returning 4th of November, or July the 1st, by ornamenting his vegetable merchandise with a well-placed orange lily. Thence we see the partners emerge from the subterranean apartment, to manage the nagin in the whiskey-shop, which forwarded him rapidly to satisfy his devotion at the shrine of the orangemen in College-green, when municipal wisdom made our hero lord mayor.

William B——w, sovereign of Belfast, by trade a minister of the Church of England. This infernal mountebank unites the cruelty of an Inquisition to all the chicanery of a vicious priest, under the patronage of what is called the Head of the Church, to whom he looks for rewards for committing every atrocity that ever English villany promoted; why cross to the continent for a history of king-craft and priest-craft? every crime that either is accused of, is united in this gospel magistrate and his English master.

Chichester S———n, high-sheriff of the county of A——: this villain inherits all the vices of tyranny, as a descendant of the first English robbers and invaders; if assassination was heretofore unknown, his treatment and Bristow's of Mr. Orr, would awaken the necessary invention.

L——ll, an infamous name, which his father got hidden and disguised under the name of C———n. This nefarious tyrant, among the crimes that a military government empowers him to commit, has had several men committed to gaol on charges of treason, that he might have an opportunity of obliging their wives to earn a promise of the unfortunate men's enlargement by submitting to him; thus, the stories of Rhaynfault, and other monsters in power, of the dark and barbarous ages, are realized in unfortunate Ireland, and is named the mildness of administration. This villain is remarkable ill-looking, about five feet five inches high, black complexion, wears a uniform, and his hair in queue.

Stephen Sparks, master of the Charter-school, Castle Carberry, and Michael Sparks, his brother, and Gilbert Walker, his brother-in-law; the two latter were rewarded by Luttrell with commissions, for their alacrity as spies and house-burners.

Benjamin Armstrong, alias Benjamin Bung the guager—43 years of age, large red features, hooked noose, lives at Ervey, near King's-court, county Cavan.

—— Fairbrother, about five feet three inches high, ruddy complexion; a clothier, in Tenter's-lane, in the liberty; one of Corbally's jury.

—— Pettigrew, five feet six inches high, black complexion, thirty-three years of age; lives in Linen-Hall-street; a sergeant in Dick's company—a juryman of young Hart's.

—— Robertson, five feet ten inches high, a black-looking fellow; and car-pilot on the Custom House quay.

Hautenville, five feet eight inches high, sixty years

of age; collects for the pipe-water office; formerly kept a huxter's shop in Mary's-lane.

—— Rice, silversmith in Capel-street, an infamous rascal, and gambler, known by the name of Count Brilliant.

Bartholomew Cannan, about five feet eight inches high, compass-knee'd; keeps a public-house in William-street, corner of Castle market; is a notorious spy.

—— Pilsworth, woollen-draper, same street, we again offer to the public: this fellow boasts of his ingenuity as a grand juror, in ignoring the bills of Mr. Mason of Exchequer-street, and a drill-serjeant in the Stephen's Green, yeomen, who were nearly cut to pieces by two officers, whom this Pilsworth said should be encouraged, on the plea that they are always doing their duty by such acts, as it proved their zeal to their king; and those worthy grand jurors agreed in the loyal opinion.

—— Bloomer, five feet six inches in height, pockmarked, by trade a hairdresser in Pye-corner.

—— Bishop, a hairdresser, lives in Aungier-street, a partner of Bloomer's in informing.

William Bunn, about five feet eight inches high, red face, sells blankets in Britain-street; was a stable-boy, among which fraternity he is seen constantly regaling in the neighbouring whiskey-shops; is a yeoman of the Rotunda division.

Thomas Horan, about twenty-two years of age, five feet nine inches high, hairdresser, lives in Ellis's Quay, corner of John-street.

Robert Goff, usurer, from Roscommon, now lives in Eccles-street; about five feet four inches high, pockmarked, small-eyed, ill-looking fellow; frequents the Old Exchange Coffee-house.

—— Purdue, a pettifogging attorney, low, set-made, pale-faced, fair hair, bull-nosed fellow; lives in Mercer-street, but spends the most part of his time in the Old Exchange Coffee-house; is whipper-in to Lee's, of the Post-office, and is a noted informer.

We are constantly witnessing the impudent affectation of cowardly moderation, acting in partnership with tyranny, against the Union Star, which they accuse of inculcating principles of assassination.

We certainly do not advise, though we do not decry assassination, as we conceive it to be the only mode at present within the reach of Irishmen, to bring to justice the royal agents, who are constantly exercising rapes, murders and burnings, through our devoted country.

We appeal to thy noble and venerated name, O Brutus! who bravely assassinated the tyrant of your country amidst his cohorts, and in the presence of his pensioned senate; it is not our solitary suffrage that has attempted to honour thy name and worship thy spirit. The patriot, the sage, and the hero, in every honourable state of life, for eighteen centuries, have given thy name the first and most unequivocal recommendation to the admiring earth, as one that deserves the highest rank amongst the benefactors of the human race.

Yes! Prince of Patriot Assassins, thy noble and virtuous spirit should pervade our land; the infant whom a British, or a British-Irish, butcher has left fatherless, should be taught, through his progress to manhood, that thy example should be rigidly imitated, as an honest duty to his parents and his country. The Irish seaman, maimed in the service of his country's tyrant, whose banners he often led to victory—perhaps at the same moment when his aged mother lived to see her daughter violated by a horrid soldiery, who had mingled the ashes of her husband with those of their humble habitation,—in such a son, assassination would be a holy duty, commanded by nature and approved of by Heaven. Thus we defend assassination, and clear it from the rubbish of ignorance, and the falsehoods of despotism, which were too often successful in confounding the characters of the man who destroyed a tyrant, and him who, to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice,

might sell himself to murder an innocent fellow-creature.

We have one hundred and sixty thousand soldiers, say the prints in the pay of Mr. Pitt :—if this vaunt is meant to intimidate the French, it is laughable; the conquerors of Fluris, of Italy, of Leopold's long hosts, are capable of re-acting the races of Dunkirk, at the Curragh or the Shannon; if to intimidate Irishmen, it is as poorly used: the most illiterate smile at the nominal strength. Ireland at present requires (though an invading army is not at hand) every man of the 160,000, as government think it necessary, at every three or four hundred square yards, to have a barrack: where or how could an army be spared, sufficient to repel a French invasion? Or what army can government depend on, when the deliverers of Europe touch the Irish soil? The yeomen are numbered in the imaginary security; this body (suppose 30,000) have family connexions, and some have property, at least have dwellings; however disposed to resistance, would be checked by prudence, or the apprehension of having their families visited by their indignant neighbours, who would retaliate on their properties for any heroism they might display under Luttrell. The militia, beginning to feel as Irishmen, might neglect the glory intended for them, on recollecting that half an hour fighting on their own account, or not fighting at all, might be safer or more profitable than following hot-headed and cruel officers; or remembering, that while a Catholic soldier was marching to battle in defence of his King, another was burning his place of worship, or shooting his parents: or the Presbyterian, in the like situation, and on the same loyal business, would reflect that his meeting-house was invaded, and his teacher dragged to prison, in the name of a king and constitution, for which he is invited, or rather whipped, to fight. Finally, at this day, the militia, who can turn the fortune of the day, will remember who are the friends of Ireland. The Scotch is an-

other component part of this 160,000—a moral, well-informed people—have unravelled the doctrine of English policy; the Scotch see that they are transported to Ireland to butcher its people, while the English perform the same humane business in Scotland. Such are your hopes, ye nicknamed bloodhounds, that tyrannize over my country: how dreadful your prospect, ye monsters; how uncertain your existence!

England! thy late triumphs over the Dutch are far from depressing the spirits of Irishmen, or impeding their union; thy victories may prolong the war, but cannot destroy liberty or prevent justice. Irishmen remember thy glory is rather too expensive: they know, in the American war, you won a battle—but you lost a continent, and added a hundred millions to your debt. In this war, your fleets were again in motion, and again victorious, and again you and your friends were disappointed—one ally guillotined, another a refugee, a third beaten in every direction, his dominions diminished, and his apostolic throne tottering by a republican bayonet, the remainder humbled, and fined for their temerity; all those evils that threaten royalty, could not be prevented or curbed by the glorious first of June—by Lord St. Vincent, or Admiral Duncan." *

* I doubt if the above atrocious paper has any parallel in the political publications of any country.—R. R. M.

No. VI.

[From *Falkner's Journal.*]

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD'S ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY KILDARE.

I TAKE this opportunity of thanking my fellow-citizens for the favour they conferred on me at the last general election. I hope the conduct I pursued since, met their approbation; it was dictated by the purest motives and most fervent wish for the welfare and happiness of Ireland. I shall not offer myself at present a candidate, feeling that under the present circumstances, there can be no free election in Ireland; any return made will be only by sufferance of the nearest military commanding officer. What is to be expected from a parliament returned under martial law? Looking to the true spirit of the British Constitution, I doubt if a body elected under such circumstances, can be called a Parliament, or its acts reckoned binding.

I hope my fellow-citizens of the county of Kildare, will not look on my declining to stand a candidate now, as abandoning their interests. I trust to see the day when I shall offer myself to represent them in a parliament that will be freely and fairly elected, and can be venerated by all honest men.

Though not your representative, believe me always your faithful servant,

EDWARD FITZGERALD.

Kildare, July 14th, 1797.

Barn Hill, July 27th, 1797.

LORD AND LADY EDWARD FITZGERALD.

Amongst the fashionable arrivals from the continent, announced in a London paper, in the month of January, 1793, I find the following:—

"3rd January, 1793, Lord Edward Fitzgerald arrived with his bride at Dovor from France, immediately after his lordship's marriage."

Some particulars of that marriage were detailed, in one of the French papers, immediately after the death of Lady Fitzgerald, in November, 1831. The writer did not feel called upon, however, to explain the motives for the mysterious introduction to which he alludes, of the "Citoyenne Ann Caroline Stephanie Sims, connue en France sous le nom de Pamela," (thus designated in the marriage contract, entered into in the presence of Citoyen Louis Phillipe Egalité, the present King of the French;) in fact, of Pamela being the daughter of Madame de Genlis by the Duke of Orleans.

LADY FITZGERALD.

She was first known as the cherished pupil, if not the adopted child of Madame de Genlis, and beyond that, little was ascertained of her connexions or birth. About the year 1782, the Duke of Orleans committed the education of his children to Madame de Genlis, and she, anxious that they should become perfect in the living languages, had taken into their service English and Italian female domestics, and she moreover resolved on educating with these children, a young English girl of nearly their own age. The Duke de Chartres was then in correspondence with a Mr. Forth, and requested him to find out, and send over to France, a handsome little girl of from five to six years of age. Mr. Forth immediately executed his commission, and sent by his valet, a horse, together with the infant, and accompanied by a note in these words:—"I have the honour to send to your highness, the finest mare and the prettiest little girl in

all England." This infant was Pamela, afterwards Lady Fitzgerald. Her arrival at the Palais Royale, occasioned odd conjectures. She was, however, educated with the prince and princesses, as a companion and a friend; she had the same masters, was taken equal care of, partook in their sports, and her astonishing resemblance to the Duke's children, would have made her pass for their sister, were it not for her foreign accent. While Pamela and the young princess were pursuing their studies in the delightful retreat of Belle-chasse, the Revolution broke out. The Duke of Orleans and his two sons, the Dukes of Chartres and of Montpensier, warmly espoused its principles. Madame de Genlis was then an admirer of the Constituent Assembly—Pamela participated in her enthusiasm for liberty; and every Sunday the members of that assembly met at Belle-chasse. Barrere, Petion and David, were constantly at her soirees, and there, in the presence of these young girls, seriously discussed the important questions of the day. Pamela, abounding in beauty and every mental accomplishment, had just reached her fifteenth year, and the Duke of Orleans had directed his notary to draw out a settlement of 1,500 livres a-year upon her. The notary declared that the orphan was not competent to receive the annuity, unless she had a guardian. "Well then," replied the Duke, "let herself choose a guardian—enough of deputies come to Belle-chasse, so that she can have no difficulty in selecting one." On the Sunday following, the Duke's answer was communicated to Pamela, at a moment when the usual party had assembled. "I have not much time to reflect," she said, "but if citizen Barrere would favour me by becoming my guardian, I should make choice of him." Barrere gladly assented, and all the formalities of the contract were soon executed. When the Constituent Assembly had terminated its glorious labours, Madame de Genlis proceeded to England, with Mademoiselle D'Orleans and Pamela, and attended by two deputies, Petion and Voidel. It was then Lord Edward

Fitzgerald saw Pamela. The brilliancy of her beauty, the graces of her mind, and the free expression of her feelings of liberty, made a deep impression on the young Irish peer; and when Madame de Genlis, alarmed at the turn things were taking in France, retired with her pupils to Tournay, where the presence of Dumouriez and of the Duke de Chartres, assured them of a safe asylum, Lord Fitzgerald accompanied them, and soon became the husband of Pamela.

After the loss of her husband, this poor lady experienced the heart and hope-chilling effects of cooling regard and declining friendship. She went on the continent, and feeling herself neglected and embarrassed, she forgot her husband's memory, and formed an unhappy alliance with an American, then established in France, of the name of Piscairn, "not the twentieth part the tithe of her precedent lord."

In the year 1820, I saw her at Toulouse, where she was then living, apart, I believe, from her second husband, in a very retired manner, and it seemed to me in restricted circumstances.

By this marriage, she had a daughter, who was married in New York, and living there at the period of my first visit to that place, in 1835. She died in the latter part of November, 1831, in very indifferent circumstances, in retired lodgings in the Rue Richepanse at Paris. One of Lord Edward's grand-children, a lad of fifteen or sixteen, bears the most striking resemblance to him, and all the amiable qualities of that most noble-hearted being, his daughter, the mother of the boy I allude to, seems to have inherited.

R. R. M.

No. VII.

SIR JOHN MOORE.

An account of Tone's condemnation and death—is detailed in the garbled life of that noble officer, given to the public by his brother, Mr. James Moore. Sir John Moore had been actively engaged in suppressing the rebellion of 1798, and speaking of its leaders, he says:—"The day before I left Dublin, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone was brought in prisoner, taken on board the Hoche, in the action of the 12th of October. I endeavoured to see him, but he was conveyed to the provost prison before I reached the Castle. He is said to have been one of the principal and first framers of the United Irish. He is the son of a coachmaker in Dublin, but was educated at the college for a lawyer; and, by some writings which are said to be his, he appears to be a man of considerable talent. He was tried by a court-martial at the barracks, the day after his arrival, where I understand he conducted himself with great firmness and manliness. He had prepared a speech, part of which only he was permitted to deliver, the rest being conceived inflammatory. By that part which he delivered he discovers a superiority of mind, which must gain to him a degree of sympathy beyond what is given to ordinary criminals.

"He began by stating, that from his infancy he had been bred up in an honourable poverty, and since the first dawn of his reason he had been an enthusiast to the love of his country. The progress of an acade-

mic and classical education confirmed him still stronger in those principles, and spurred him on to support by actions what he had so strongly conceived in theory; that British connexion was, in his opinion, the bane of his country's prosperity; it was his object to destroy this connexion; and, in the event of his exertions, he had succeeded in rousing three millions of his countrymen to a sense of their national debasement. Here he was interrupted by the court; and afterwards going on with something similar, he was again interrupted. He then said he should not take up the time of the court by any subterfuge to which the forms of the law might entitle him. He admitted the charge of coming in arms as the leader of a French force, to invade Ireland; but said it was as a man banished, amputated from all natural and political connexion with his own country, and a naturalized subject of France, bearing a commission of the French Republic, under which it was his duty implicitly to obey the commands of his military superiors. He produced his commission, constituting him adjutant-general in the French service, his orders, &c. &c. He said he knew from what had already occurred to the officers, natives of Ireland, who had been made prisoners on this expedition, what would be his fate; on that, however, he had made up his mind. He was satisfied that every liberal man who knew his mind and principles, would be convinced, in whatever enterprise he engaged for the good of his country, it was impossible he could ever have been combined in approbation or aid, to the fanatical and sanguinary atrocities perpetrated by many of the persons engaged in the recent conflict. He hoped the court would do him the justice to believe, that from his soul he abhorred such abominable conduct. He had, in every public proceeding of his life, been actuated by the purest motives of love to his country; and it was the highest ambition of his soul, to tread the glorious paths chalked out by the examples of Washington in America, and Kosciusko in Poland. In such arduous and critical pursuits,

success was the criterion of merit and fame. It was his lot to fail, and he was resigned to his fate. Personal considerations he had none; the sooner he met the fate that awaited him, the more agreeable to his feelings; but he could not repress his anxiety for the honour of the nation whose uniform he wore, and the dignity of that commission he bore as adjutant-general in the French service. As to the sentence of the court, which he so fully anticipated, he had but one wish, that it might be inflicted within one hour; but the only request he had to solicit the court was, that the mode of his death might not degrade the honour of a soldier. The French army did not feel it contrary to the dignity or etiquette of arms, to grant similar favours to emigrant officers taken on returning, under British command, to invade their native country. He recollected two instances of this, in the cases of Charette and Sombreuil, who had obtained their request of being shot by files of grenadiers. A similar fate was the only favour he had to ask; and he trusted that men susceptible of the nice feelings of a soldier's honour, would not refuse his request. As to the rest, he was perfectly reconciled.

"Next morning it was found that he had endeavoured to avoid public execution by an attempt to kill himself. He was discovered with his windpipe cut across. His execution was necessarily postponed. A motion has since been made in the Court of King's Bench, by Mr. Curran, for a habeas corpus, directed to the keeper of the Provost Marshalsea, to bring the body of T. W. Tone, with the cause of his detention. This is so far fortunate, as it is to stop for the future all trials by court-martial for civil offences, and things are to revert to their former and usual channel."

In speaking of Wicklow, where Sir John had been chiefly employed, he states his opinion—"that moderate treatment by the generals, and the preventing of the troops from pillaging and molesting the people, would soon restore tranquillity, and the latter would

certainly be quiet, if the gentry and yeomen would only behave with tolerable decency, and not seek to gratify their ill humour and revenge upon the poor." In fact, this brave and excellent man plainly states, that harshness and violence had originally driven the farmers and peasants to revolt, and that their oppressors were as ready as ever to renew their former ill usage of them.

The Edinburgh Reviewer, commenting on Mr. James Moore's work, in this part of the life of Sir John Moore, observes :—"What manner of soldiers were thus let loose upon the wretched districts which the ascendancy-men were pleased to call disaffected? They were men, to use the venerable Abercrombie's words, who were 'formidable to every body but the enemy.' We ourselves were young at the time; yet, being connected with the army, we were continually amongst the soldiers, listening with boyish eagerness to their conversation,—and we well remember, and with horror, to this day, the tales of lust, and blood and pillage, the records of their own actions against the miserable peasantry which they used to relate. But even the venerable Abercrombie, that soul of honour, that star of England's glory, cannot escape the sneer of the author before us. 'He had no political circumspection, and so resigned his office'—which, rightly interpreted, means, that he disdained to lend himself to pillage, cruelty, and devastation."

Sir John, indeed, appears to have had none of that kind of "political circumspection," which could reconcile him to the scenes he witnessed. He saw nothing worthy of admiration in them. On the march from Fermoy, when he entered the town of Clogheen, where in the street he saw a man tied up, and under the lash, while the street itself was lined with country people on their knees, with their hats off; nor was his disgust repressed, when he was informed that the high sheriff, Mr. Fitzgerald, was making great discoveries, and that he had already flogged the truth out of many respectable persons. His rule was "to flog each person till he told the truth."

No. VIII.

Mr. Colclough, of Tintern Abbey, was the nephew of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, and, in 1798, was at the head of the family interest, which was very considerable in the county. Before the outbreak of the insurrection, he and Mr. Thomas M'Cord left the country, and fixed their abode at Haverfordwest, in Pembrokeshire. The following is the correspondence to which allusion has been made, respecting their residence there, and the occasion of it, from the Duke of Portland to the magistrates at Haverford West.

"Gentlemen,

"I have received your letter on the subject of the late influx of persons in your county from Ireland, and am extremely sorry to observe that there are so many young clergymen and able-bodied men among them. The conduct of such persons, in remaining out of Ireland at a moment like the present, is very much to be censured; and I desire that you will use your best endeavours to impress them with a due sense of the dangerous tendency of such an example, and of the dishonourable and disgraceful imputations to which it obviously exposes them: and at the same time that you will make known to the clergy, that their names will certainly be reported to their respective diocesans. With respect to Mr. Colclough and Mr. M'Cord, I desire that they may have full liberty, either to go to Ireland, or to stay in the country; and that all persons for whom they will answer, as well as all the infirm men, women and children, may be admitted to the same indulgence.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"*Whitehall, June 22d*, 1798." "Portland."

"*To Messrs. Jordan & Bowen, at Haverford West.*"

When the Wexford gentlemen got information of this correspondence, the Protestant gentlemen of the county were summoned to a general meeting in the town of Wexford, on the 7th of July, 1798, by General Lake. A copy of the Duke's letter was laid before them: Dr. Duigenan says they were all struck with amazement; and they determined unanimously to send a letter to the Duke on the subject, of which the following is a copy—it was signed by the High Sheriff of the county :—

"The Committee of Gentlemen of the county of Wexford, appointed by General Lake, having read a copy of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Bowen and Jordan, magistrates in the town of Haverford West, South Wales, dated 22nd June, ult., and which appears to have been in answer to a letter received by his Grace from those gentlemen, cannot avoid testifying their hearty sorrow at the censure thrown upon the Clergy of their diocese in said letter, and their indignation at the gross misrepresentations which must have occasioned it. They are unanimous in a high opinion of the loyalty, patriotism, and proper conduct of the Clergy, and strongly feel the necessity of their flight and absence during the continuance of the Rebellion, which so unhappily raged in this country; as, had they not effected their escape, they have every reason to conclude, that they would have shared a similar fate with those unhappy few of that body, who early fell into the hands of the Insurgents, and were afterwards massacred in cold blood.

"They lament, that men of such unblemished character and conduct should, from the secret representations of persons no way qualified, be proscribed that protection and asylum so liberally bestowed on the persons of Mr. John Colclough and Thomas M'Cord, men who were, and might have remained in perfect security in His Majesty's fort at Duncannon, and whose characters are by no means free from imputation in this country, and on whom they are sorry to find such favour lavished by the English

cabinet, as they are certain no favourable account of their conduct could be made to Government, save by themselves.

"EDWARD PERCIVALL,

"Sheriff, & Chairman of the Committee."

"*Wexford, July 7th,* 1798."

"*To His Grace the Duke of Portland, Whitehall.*"

To this letter, his Grace never condescended to return any answer.

The following paragraph was inserted in the Waterford newspaper of July the 10th, 1798:

"Yesterday Mr. John Colclough, of Tintern Castle, county of Wexford, was brought here from Milford, in custody of two king's-messengers; he was escorted by a party of the Union cavalry to Thomas-town, on his way to Dublin. Mr. M'Cord, who was implicated in the charge for which the former was apprehended, had made off; but it is said, that there was no probability of his avoiding the vigilance of his pursuers. These are the two gentlemen who were spoken so favourably of, in a letter from the Duke of Portland to Messrs. Jordan and Bowen, of Haverford West.*

"CLERICUS WEXFORDIENSIS."

* Dr. Duigenan's "Fair Representation," &c. page 227.

No. IX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPELS DESTROYED BY UNKNOWN PERSONS, DURING AND SINCE THE LATE REBELLION.

In the Arch-Diocese of Dublin.

County of Wicklow:—

Roundwood . . .	June 26, 1798
Anamoe	June 28, 1798
Kilpatrick	Oct. 11, 1798
Ballinvolagh . . .	Oct. 11, 1798
Castletown. . . .	Nov. 1798
Ashford	Jan. 25, 1799
Boomaley	Jan. 25, 1799
Johnstown. . . .	April 20, 1799
Castledermot . . .	March 20, 1799

The windows of Wicklow Chapel broken, and part of the new chapel at Newbridge destroyed by fire, in January and May, 1799.

In the Diocese of Ferns.

County of Wexford:—

Boolevogue . (Whitsunday)	May 27, 1798
Maglass	May 30, 1798
Ramsgrange . . .	June 19, 1798
Ballymurrin, slated . .	June 22, 1798
Drumgold	June 21, 1798
Gorey.	Aug. 4, 1798
Annacorra	Sept. 2, 1798
Crane	Sept. 17, 1798
Ballyduffe	Oct. 19, 1798
Rock	Oct. 12, 1798
River Chapel . . .	Oct. 19, 1798

County of Wicklow:—

Monaseed	Oct. 25, 1798
Clologue	Oct. 26, 1798
Killevery	Nov. 11, 1798
Ferns	Nov. 18, 1798
Oulart	Nov. 28, 1798
Ballygarret . . .	Jan. 15, 1799
Ballynamonabeg . .	Jan. 18, 1799
Arkamore	Feb. 24, 1799
Murntown	April 24, 1799
Monomolin, slated . .	May 3, 1799
Kilrush	May 15, 1799

In the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin.

County Kildare:—	Kildare . .	June 8, 1798
Queen's County:—	Stradbally. .	June 24, 1798
County Carlow:—	Clonmore . .	March 6, 1799
	Kilquiggan .	March 24, 1799

N.B. The altars and windows of some other chapels in different places were broken or injured.

The chapel of Dunboyne, in the diocese and county Meath, destroyed in May or June, 1798.

Total number of Chapels destroyed:—

County Wexford. . .	22
County Wicklow . .	9
County Kildare . . .	2
County Carlow . . .	1
Queen's County . . .	1
Total number . .	35

This paper has been carefully copied from the original manuscript, in the handwriting of the late M. R. Doctor Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

The total number of chapels damaged or destroyed between 1798 and 1800, throughout the country, is estimated by others at 69.

No. X.

REV. DR. HAMILL'S ACCOUNT OF DR. DUIGENAN.

My dear Friend,

I had already desired F. P. to send you Curry, as Butler mentions only the laws unrepealed when he wrote, whereas Duigenan defends the whole code. Concerning his father, I have learnt what follows from my mother. She believes his name was Hugh. He was a Connaught man, his first appearance was in the house of a Mr. Edwards, of Castle Edward's County Down, who employed him in teaching A B C to a sickly child, his son and heir.

This Edwards was related to a Mr. Irwine, of Castle Irwine, County Fermanagh, whose daughters visited at Castle Edwards, attended by a childrens' maid, the daughter of an English woman, who kept an obscure school, in Cherry-lane, Bolton-street. With this maid, or governess (a rigid presbyterian) Hugh became enamoured, and married her; both, however, continued in their respective services. After some time Hugh's pupil died, and he after having lurked for a few months near Castle Irwine, was received by one Martin, a farmer, into his house, at a place called Saint Angelo, on the banks of Lough Erne, within a mile or two of Castle Irwine and of Enniskillen. This Martin was my mother's father, and here Hugh's employment was teaching the children, (that is, my mother, her brother and sister,) reading, writing and the catechism. This sister of my mother, was afterwards doctor Curry's wife.

He had also the use of an outhouse, in which he instructed the poorer children of the neighbourhood, from each of whom he had a pension, from one penny to three-pence per week. At this time he served at mass every Sunday, frequented the sacrament, and was a most zealous Catholic. His zeal, at length, increased to such a degree, that, for the sole purpose, as he afterwards declared, of reclaiming his wife from heresy, and breaking her anti-catholic connections, he insisted on her leaving her service, and carried her, much against her will, to Dublin, where he hoped for employment as a tutor, or as an assistant in a school. He had now two young children, one of them on the mother's breast; a school which he had opened in a blind alley, did not afford the necessaries of life; his wife applied for relief to Castle Irwine, and a permanent provision for her family was promised, on condition that her husband should become a Protestant.

His Connaught brogue, excluded him from private tutorships and public schools, yet for some time he rejected this offer with disdain. At length his firmness was overcome by the importunity of his wife, growing louder, with encreasing wretchedness, and by her threats of leaving her children in a charter school, and of even becoming herself an informer against him, as a popish schoolmaster. The reward of his recantation, was the mastership of Bride's parish school. He had besides, a small annual salary for teaching in Irish the rudiments of Protestantism, to such of the peasantry as, to avoid expulsion from their holdings at the eve of an election, came to Dublin to qualify as freeholders.

In this employment he had been some years, when hearing that my mother, his former pupil, was settled in this city, he called to see her and their acquaintance was renewed. My father frequently asked him to dine, partly through humanity, as he considered him to be in distressed circumstances, and partly on my mother's account, who still retained a filial re-

spect for her old master. On these occasions, he used to weep bitterly and wring his hands whenever he spoke of what he called his apostacy from the faith, to declare his determination of returning speedily to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to relate several instances in which he availed himself of his office of Irish instructor, to deter the persecuted poor from following his example. Thus far my mother. His wife, a few years before her death, informed me that her husband often expressed to her the comfort he found in disburthening his heart to my father, and that she perceived the habitual depression of his spirits much relieved by it. He died of an asthma and lingering consumption, in which he was closely attended by the Reverend Michael Flanagan, a Franciscan Friar, from whose hands he received the last sacrament with every appearance of sincere repentance. *Questo l'ho inteso dal Frate stesso.**

Paddy was a schoolfellow of Mr. Braughall,† at Fagan's, and used sometimes to hear mass in Cook-street chapel. Mr. Braughall says, however, that he is not certain of his being then a Catholic; but it is very probable, as his brother was sent to the Irish College of Salamanca, to be educated for the church; was thence expelled for incapacity, and having been for some time supported by the alms of his former fellow students, entered as a private soldier in the Spanish service. His sister was also educated a catholic, and such she died at Rush, in great poverty, having been maintained chiefly by the charity of Mr. Murphy, parish priest of that place. The edifying death of Paddy's father, was the cause of his mother's conversion, who continued a very devout catholic to her death, which happened three or four years ago. Your friend Gerrard, administered to her the last sacrament. Paddy next appears as a Sizer, at Trinity College. The manner in which he obtained his sizership, was thus told by Dr. Boy-

* This I heard from the friar himself.

† Thomas Braughall of Ely-place, in 1798.

ton last Thursday in the Library. For the vacant place, only two candidates started, of whom Paddy was one. On the day of examination, his antagonist took ill, and so wretched a figure did Paddy make, that the board thought proper to take the advice of council, whether the constitutions compelled them to elect the only candidate, however incompetent. It was answered affirmatively, and Paddy became F. T. C. D.

You are already informed of his quarrel with the provost Hutchinson and of his Lacrymae Academicæ. I think you should praise that provost and his sons.

Addio.

B. Clinch, Esq. M. H. Hamill.

Dr. Duigenan in his Lachrymæ Academicæ, in alluding to the origin of one of the opponents—Sir John Blaquiere, whom that work was written to vilify, says that "his origin, like the sources of the Nile, had never been discovered." The Doctor's own origin has hitherto been a problem to all the Bruces of Milesian biography, with the exception of Dr. Hamill, whose discoveries are recorded in the preceding narrative. Sir Jonah Barrington says: "his father was parish clerk of St. Werburgh Church, Dublin; but in what part of Ireland the Doctor originated, is still uncertain." Neither Barrington nor Dr. Hamill, seem to have been aware of a circumstance which throws some light on the patronage which enabled young Duigenan to enter college. His father, for some time, kept a small school at Donybrook, and was chiefly indebted to the assistance of a Mr. Daniels, for the means of supporting himself there. The name he went by, at this period, was Dignum; but whether the unsuccessful attempt to render it more euphonius, was made by the father or the son, is unknown. The father of Lord Clare, Counsellor Fitzgibbon, was then living at Donybrook, and the old schoolmaster became acquainted with him. Mr. Fitzgibbon had found the religion of his fathers, stand between him and his prospects here,

and consequently, those hereafter, and was, at this period, a member of the reformed church. The struggling schoolmaster began to make a similar discovery, and having read his recantation in Bride's Church, he and his son were henceforth taken by the hand by Mr. Fitzgibbon.

The circumstance of the latter being enabled to enter college, becomes less surprising. I think Dr. Hamill's account of his attainments in reference to his standing in college, does injustice to his abilities. He was a man of very vigorous intellect, of studious habits, of considerable aptitude for learning, and of indomitable resolution in the maintenance of his opinions. Whether the latter were right or wrong, was to him a matter of little moment. He reversed in his practice the American principle of action: "First know your right, then go a-head." He first went a-head, and then laboured to persuade himself the way he went was the only right one.

There probably never existed a bigot in religion, in any country, so far as the expression of his opinion went, more furious, infatuated, more impenetrable to the attacks of truth, or tolerance, or proof against sarcasm, invective, and ridicule, than Dr. Patrick Duigenan. And yet this man, who defended the penal code—not in part, but the whole atrocious code—who breathed extermination and persecution, lived on terms of the greatest amity with the members of the religion he reviled; constantly entertained its ministers, never offered the slightest violence to the religious opinions of his Roman Catholic wife; on the contrary, allowed her director to frequent his house, and to be, in fact, more an inmate of it than an occasional visitor.

His first wife was a Miss Cusack, "a rigid" Roman Catholic lady; she died in 1799. A few years before his death he married the widow of a Mr. George Hepenstal, formerly a clerk to Alderman Alexander, a police magistrate. This gentleman was the brother of a man, whose name is coupled with more

infamy than Mr. James O'Brien's, Lieutenant E. L. Hepenstal, of the Wicklow Militia: "The Walking Gallows," of undying notoriety.

Dr. Duigenan held a variety of official situations connected with his profession. He was called to the bar in 1767. He was a Doctor of Laws, King's Advocate to the High Court of Admiralty, Judge of the Prerogative Court, Vicar-general, and one of the Commissioners for the distribution of the Parlia-liamentary grant of £1,500,000, for the compensation of borough proprietors after the Union.

It is difficult to comprehend the inconsistencies of characters like Duigenan's, for it is impossible to reconcile the bigotry of their professed opinions with the tolerance of their private practice, on any grounds favourable to the sincerity of their principles. Perhaps the solution of such mysteries is to be effected by the application to their elementary parts of the simple Rule of Three: for example, if in Ireland a given amount of party violence was necessary to bring an obscure man into public notice; what quantity of outrageous intolerance would be requisite to make his fortune in the way of preferment?

No. XI.

ESSAY ON FORGIVENESS.

Written by Mr. Henry Sheares the elder, and published in the Cork Hibernian Chronicle.

It is to be feared that there are some, who, from considering the Lord's Prayer only as it stands in our liturgy, have been led into an imperfect idea of the petition for forgiveness. In the Greek of St. Matthew, it runs thus:—"Forgive us our *debts* as we forgive our *debtors;*" and to this St. Luke corresponds:—"Forgive us our sins; for we also forgive those who are *indebted* to us."

Why any deviation should have been made from words so sacred, I do not know. The literal construction, *debts,* takes in all that is intended by *trespasses,* and more: in its first and immediate sense, it means those obligations relative to property which arise from the intercourse of society, and extends also to the great circle of duties which man owes to man, and every man to his Creator.

Existence, reason, immortality, a profession of temporary, and an offer of endless blessings, form a debt too great to be discharged. The warmest aspirations of gratitude are faint, and the most vigorous exertions of service imperfect; but our efforts may reach to man, though they fall short of heaven. The great Universal Creditor, takes in payment to himself what we do for others. Pity, patience, and benignity, are his favourite offerings; and the prevailing petition of his commands is—that we make each other happy.

He who stooped to instruct us how to ask forgiveness, makes the remitting of the debts of others the express condition of our hopes. This is the first step of the scale; and the man who will not rise so far above his passions, can never expect to go higher. To remember injuries with kindness, to repay evil with good, and become the cheerful benefactor of an enemy, are heights beyond the reach of an unenlightened ethics: yet to these must every one aspire who would avail himself of the intercession or sufferings of the teacher. But the rudiments of philanthropy must be learned before we can feel its elevation: until pity unbars the heart refinement can meet no entrance: nor can we dream of soaring to angelic heights, while we lie sunk below the common standard of humanity.

To deprive a fellow-being of every comfort, and cover him with every misery, merely for his incapacity of paying, would evince a malignity too diabolical, I hope, to be human. Yet, little better is the relentless creditor's motive—a wretched pride of appearing acute and prudent in the eyes of others, mixed with a little, grovelling resentment at the idea of a real or intended imposition on his understanding. For this he showers woes upon the head of poverty; and denies to his brother of the dust a little portion of that mercy, which, if our common maker did not unlimitedly possess, the only wish of every thinking being would be to shrink out of existence.

To the misplacing of our passions we owe most of our errors. Ambitious of eminence, where, in fact, we are most restrained, we are more jealous of our intellectual than our moral merit. We are content to be thought cruel, provided we are thought sagacious; and to support the fancied stateliness of worldly wisdom, descend below the rank of the common executioner: we catch at a revenge, not palliated by the plea of provocation, nor dignified by the shew of spirit—a revenge within the reach of the most abject being in the community,—at which a man should blush, and a christian tremble.

Real pre-eminence is bestowed by the hand of generous forbearance; and the most thrilling flattery is the voice of misery relieved. To see the tear of gratitude swelling in the eye, and the features throbbing with the emotions of a blessing heart; to see happiness, like a new creation, brightening up at our touch, and feeling ourselves rising in the estimation of the Source of Being: these create a pride which humility may avow, and a superiority which will survive the fleeting phantom of distinction.

The eye that reads this paper must close; the hands that hold it must rot—nor is the time far off. Business in vain endeavours to subdue, or levity to expel the thought. It has a voice of thunder, and will be heard. When that which is dreadful is also inevitable,—to disarm it of its terrors is all that is left us. Religion points to the means, and Reason urges us to embrace them.

When aid is vain, and joy is fled; when the soul begins to disentangle, and feels the presages of the approaching future, from a consciousness of the past; when the stage of life is darkened, and the great, much-talked-of scene begins to realize, and open on the view, the debts we have remitted, the wrongs we have forgiven, and the miseries we have relieved, will play with cherub faces round the fancy, and turn to rapture the pangs of dissolution.

To such joys and prospects, some hearts have made themselves insensible; but from the dominion of fear there are none exempt. The Great Former of our natures, therefore, intimidates while he allures, and denounces a reverse, from which the imagination revolts in terror.

In the catalogue of trangressions, inexorability stands dreadfully distinguished. To every other offender,—though he may shudder at the justice of the Almighty,—there still is some resource remaining in his mercy. But he who denies mercy, forfeits mercy. He disclaims the saving attribute, which softens the terrors of Omnipotence; and quits the

last hold that hangs from Heaven over the gulph of eternity!

If death and judgment be not chimeras; if the Son of God knew the will of his Father; if that will be founded on immutable truth,—he who does not forgive, will not be forgiven.

AGRICOLA.

No. XII.

TEST, SIGNS AND EMBLEMS, OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

THE candidate for admission into the Society, after it became a secret one in 1794, was sworn either by individuals, or in the presence of several members, in a separate room from that in which the meeting was held. A paper, consisting of eight pages of printed matter, called the constitution, was placed in his right hand, and the nature of it was explained to him: that part of it called the "Test" was read to him, and repeated by him. The oath was administered either on the Scriptures, or a prayer-book; and while it was administering to him, he held the constitution, together with the book, on his right breast. The constitution contained the Declaration, Resolutions, Rules, Test, Regulations for the various committees, and form of certificate of admission into the Society.

The mode of recognition was the following:—A member, desiring to ascertain if a person was initiated, or to make himself known to another party—

on meeting with a person not previously known as an United Irishmen,—repeated the first letter of the word "United" in this manner—"I know *U*;" the person accosted, if initiated, answered—"I know *N*;" and so on, each alternately repeating the remaining letters of the word. Where further proofs of initiation were required, there was a form of examination in a series of questions, to which the following answers were required, in common use among the lower orders.

Quest.—Are you straight?
Ans.—I am.
Quest.—How straight?
Ans.—As straight as a rush.
Quest.—Go on then?
Ans.—In truth, in trust, in unity and liberty.
Quest.—What have you got in your hand?
Ans.—A green bough.
Quest.—Where did it first grow?
Ans.—In America.
Quest.—Where did it bud?
Ans.—In France.
Quest.—Where are you going to plant it?
Ans.—In the crown of Great Britain.

This form of examination was gone through by the wretches who slaughtered the prisoners on the Bridge of Wexford. Charles Jackson, in his account of these atrocious proceedings, of which he was an eye-witness, states, that the questions put to such of the prisoners as professed to be Roman Catholics, were as to the creed of the prisoners, the forms of prayer, and external signs of religion.

The practice of cutting the hair short on the back of the head, at the time of initiation, was one of those singular customs in use among the United Irishmen, which it is difficult to comprehend the reason for. It was calculated only to attract attention by its singularity, and to excite suspicion. It was considered, in the rebellion, one of the *primâ facie* evidences of disaffection, and gained for the

persons who wore their hair short the name of "Croppies:" it caused the deaths of a great number of persons. It is singular, that the contrary practice of wearing the hair long, whether on the beard or head, at an earlier period, was likewise punished with the severest penalties; but this was done by legal authority. A statute was enacted in Ireland, at a parliament held at Trem, by John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, lord lieutenant in the year 1447, 25 Hen. VI. The law compelled the Irish to shave the upper lip, and to cut their hair short; so that the law made the people Croppies at one period—and the power that was above the law, at a later date, considered the practice of cropping as a proof of treasonable intentions. Ireland is indebted, however, to the Earl of Shrewsbury's parliament for one of the most plaintive and beautiful of all her melodies, "The Coulin." The words were written on the subject of the effects of this law, oppressive as it was deemed by a people who considered long hair ornamental—and the custom as one of a national character. The Shrewsbury parliament's cropping and shaving statute, it appears from the complaint of the fugitive lover of the "Coulin," had no saving clause:—all classes, the young and the old, were alike included in its provisions.

THE COULIN.

Though the last glimpse of Erin with sorrow I see,
Yet wherever thou art shall seem Erin to me:
In exile, thy bosom shall still be my home,
And thine eyes make my climate wherever we roam.

To the gloom of some desert, or bleak, rocky shore,
Where the eyes of the stranger can haunt us no more,
I will fly with my Coulin, and think the rough wind
Less rude than the foes we leave frowning behind.

And I'll gaze on thy gold hair, as graceful it wreathes,
And hang o'er thy soft harp as wildly it breathes—
Nor dread that the cold-hearted Saxon shall tear
One chord from that harp, or one lock from that hair.

The emblems commonly displayed on their publications, on their flags, seals, &c. were either a harp without a crown, two hands clasped together, the shamrock, and the harp surmounted by a star. The mottoes in general use were—"Erin go bragh;" "The Union of Irishmen;" "Unite and be Free;" "Remember Orr;" "The fourteenth of July, 1789, the day sacred to Liberty;" "The Emerald Isle;" "The People are awake—they are up;" "The Morning Star is shining;" "The Diffusion of Light," &c.

The colour of the United Irishmen was the old fancy colour of nature, emblematic, I presume, of the verdant soil of the Emerald Isle.

The uniform, rarely procured, except by persons holding high military rank, was of the same colour, faced with black, white or yellow. The lyric muse of George Nugent Reynolds—of Dr. Drennan—Counsellor Lysaght, &c. &c. furnished songs for their festive meetings. Several songs, I am informed, and some that were popular in Munster, were composed by John Sheares, and published in a collection called "The Harp of Erin," printed in Cork, and suppressed in March, 1798. But which of those that appeared in that publication were his, I have not been able to ascertain.

In Mr. T. Crofton Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland," an account is given from Fitzgerald's Cork Remembrancer, of a public entertainment, succeeding a parade of the Cork Volunteers on the 17th of March, 1780, at which a song was sung, from the manuscript copy of which in the autograph of Mr. John Sheares, it is printed in Mr. Crofton's work.

It begins thus:

> "St. Patrick he is Ireland's saint,
> And we 're his Volunteers, Sir,
> The hearts that treason cannot taint,
> Their fire with joy he hears, Sir," &c.

The composition is that of a boy, not above fourteen

years of age, and certainly exhibits very little indication of poetic talent.

The Cork Volunteers made their first public display on the 12th of April, 1778. Fitzgerald, in his "Cork Remembrancer," quoted by Mr. Croker, states—"The True Blues, Boyne, Aughrim Union, and Culloden societies, walked in procession to Christ Church, according to seniority, being the first general public appearance made by these sons of Liberty."

No. XIII.

EDWARD LAMBERT HEPENSTAL.

Amongst the admissions of the witnesses of those times, of the means they took to extort confessions of guilt, there is one of Lieutenant Hepenstal of the Wicklow Militia, which is distinguished for the coolness of its effrontery, and the atrociousness of the crimes openly acknowledged. Hepenstal was a native of the county Wicklow, had been educated at the school of a pious Catholic priest, in Clarendon-street, Dublin, of the name of Gallagher, his mother being of the Catholic religion. He was brought up to the business of an apothecary, but, in 1795, renounced the pestle for the sword—and halter. Being a man of Herculean stature, he made a gallows of his person, and literally hung numbers of persons over his shoulder. The first inhuman exploit of this kind performed by him, was at Mysores, in the county Westmeath, in 1796, where he entered the cabin of a poor man of the name of Smith, arrested the old man and his two sons, and put the latter to death; one of them having been strangled by suspension over the shoulder of this monster.

At the trial of Hyland, in September, 1797, at the Athy assizes, under the White-boy Act, Hepenstal being examined touching the mode of procuring evidence from the witness against the prisoner, said on examination, "He had used some threats, and pricked him with a bayonet;" and when cross-examined by Mr. M'Nally, said, "this prisoner had also been pricked with the bayonet, to induce him to confess: a rope had been put about his neck, which was thrown over his (Hepenstal's) shoulder, he then pulled the rope, and drew the prisoner up, and he was hung in this way for a short time, but continued sulky, and confessed nothing:" whereupon Mr. M'Nally said, "Then you acted the executioner, and played the part of a gallows?" "Yes, please your honour;" was the reply of Lieutenant Hepenstal.

The Solicitor-General, Mr. Toler, who tried the case, in his charge to the jury, regretted the treatment of the prisoner, "*but it was an error such as a young and gallant officer might fall into, warmed by resentment.*" Sir Jonah Barrington was one of the counsel for the crown. The prisoner was found guilty.

The memory of this infamous man has received its deserts at the hands of a clerical gentleman of the name of Barrett, in the form of an epitaph.

> "Here lie the bones of Hepenstal,
> Judge, jury, gallows, rope, and all."

No. XIV.

MAJOR SIRR AND "HIS PEOPLE."

The father of this gentleman served in the army, and retired from it with the rank of major. His daughter married a Mr. Minchin, of Grange, in the vicinity of Dublin. Sir Richard Musgrave gives an account of an attack made on the house of Mr. Minchin, and of Major Sirr the elder being in the house at the time it was plundered, in the month of May, 1798. The design of the assailants, he states, was to murder Minchin, who fortunately happened to be from home when the attack was made. The son of the old major, about 1794 or 1795, set up in Dublin in the business of a wine merchant. In 1797 the name of Henry Charles Sirr, wine merchant, 35, French-street, appears in the Dublin Directory. In 1798 he is likewise styled a wine merchant, and then living at 77, Dame-street. His relative, Mr. Humphrey Minchin, was a member of the corporation, of considerable influence in that body in 1797; his father was in the commission of the peace, and by their interest and the patronage of his friend, Major Sandys, brigade-major of the garrison, he obtained the office of deputy town-major, in 1796. Sandys, and Mr. Edward Cooke, then chief-secretary, had married two sisters, the Miss Gorges of Kilbrue. One of the earliest exploits of the major, which came out on the trial of Finnerty, was one in which he manifested his gallantry, by arresting the editor of the Press newspaper, in 1797, and seizing on a parcel of the papers, which he was not justified in doing; and being asked by Mr. Sampson on the

trial, if he had seized these papers, the major's prudent reply was, "I will not answer." From this time his services chiefly consisted in organizing and maintaining a band of wretches, who were employed at the assizes throughout the country, but especially in the vicinity of Dublin—as informers. They were known to the people by the name of the "Battalion of Testimony."

It is said on high authority that the employment of spies and informers tends rather to the increase than the repression of crime, and that a good government has no need of their infamous services. One thing is certain, that their services were thought useful to a bad government, and the same circumstance that rendered their services necessary, made their infamy a matter of little moment to their employers. From the year 1796 to 1800, a set of miscreants, steeped in crime, sunk in debauchery, prone to violence, and reckless of character, constituted what was called "The Major's People." A number of these wretches were domiciled within the gates of the Castle, where there were regular places of entertainment allotted for them, contiguous to the viceroy's palace; for another company of them, a house was allotted opposite Kilmainham gaol, familiarly known to the people by the name of the "Stag House;" and for one batch of them who could not be trusted with liberty, there was one of the yards of that prison and the surrounding cells assigned to them; which is still called the "Stag Yard." These persons were considered under the immediate protection of Majors Sirr, Swan, and Sandys, and to interfere with them in the course of their duties as spies or witnesses, was to incur the vengeance of their redoubtable patrons.

When the country was broken down sufficiently in strength and spirit, to effect the Union, these men were turned adrift on society. A great many of them took to desperate courses, and acting under the dominion of violent passions, they came to violent ends. The common people ascribed, and to this day

continue to ascribe, their sudden and unprovided deaths to the divine retribution. The common expression is, "The judgment of God fell on them." Perhaps it would be more consonant to a widely extended knowledge of the action of those general laws of nature which govern humanity, to regard the violent deaths of unjust and cruel men, as the natural consequence of violent courses, and the aggregate of such awful examples as an evidence of the action of that law of nature, in its extended application, which visits even in this world, signal violations of it with a general rather than a particular retribution. Some of the men I speak of, expiated their subsequent crimes on the gallows; others were transported; several committed suicide: many of them, however, whose guilt was of as deep a die as that of Crawley's or O'Brien's, were men who could not say like these unfortunate persons when the times of public commotion were at at an end—they had not the means to live—but their superiors in rank, fortune, and education, their employers and accomplices, who superintended their performances in the witness-box and at the triangles, who witnessed and directed their infliction of the tortures of the pitch-cap and the taws, still lived without reproach, but it could not be without remorse. And charity would hope that the time that was given them, was afforded for repentance!

The case of a respectable citizen of Dublin, Mr. John Hevey, a brewer, who was persecuted by Sirr for meddling with one of his people, is one which has stamped the character of this man, and left a lasting record of the means by which his power was upheld and his property acquired, in the disastrous period of 1797 and 1798.

In May, 1802, a cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Lord Kilwarden, in which Hevey was the plaintiff, and the once redoubtable Major Sirr, the defendant. It was an action for assault and false imprisonment, and there was a verdict for Hevey of £150 damages. The plaintiff's case

was stated by Mr. Curran, and that part of it which is well deserving of attention, in the following terms :—

"I must carry back your attention to the melancholy period of 1798. It was at that crisis that the defendant, from an obscure individual, started into notice and consequence. It is in the hot-bed of public calamity, that such portentous and inauspicious products are accelerated without being matured. From being a town major, he became at once invested with all the real power of the most absolute authority. The life and the liberty of every man seemed to be given up to his disposal. With this gentleman's extraordinary elevation began the story of the sufferings and ruin of the plaintiff. It seems, a man of the name of M'Guire was prosecuted for some offence against the state. Mr. Hevey, the plaintiff, by accident was in court; he was then a citizen of wealth and credit, a brewer in the first line of that business. Unfortunately for him, he had heretofore employed the witness for the prosecution, and found him a man of infamous character. Unfortunately for himself, he mentioned this circumstance in court. The counsel for the prisoner insisted on his being sworn; he was so. The jury were convinced, that no credit was due to the witness for the crown; and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted. In a day or two after, Major Sirr met the plaintiff in the street; asked how he dared to interfere in his business, and swore by God he would teach him how to meddle with 'his people.' Gentlemen," said Mr. Curran, "there are two sorts of prophets, one that derives its source from real or fancied inspiration, and who are sometimes mistaken. But there is another class, who prophecy what they are determined to bring about themselves. Of this second, and by far the most authentic class, was the major; for Heaven you see has no monopoly of prediction. On the following evening, poor Hevey was dogged in the dark into some lonely alley; there he was seized he knew not by whom, nor by what authority—and became in a

moment, to himself, to his family, and his friends, as if he had never been. He was carried away in equal ignorance of his crime, and of his destiny; whether to be tortured, or hanged, or transported. His crime he soon learned; it was the treason which he had committed against the majesty of Major Sirr. He was immediately conducted to a new place of imprisonment in the Castle-yard, called the provost. Of this mansion of misery, of which you have since heard so much, Major Sandys was, and I believe yet is, the keeper. A gentleman of whom I know how dangerous it is to speak; and of whom every prudent man will think and talk, with all due reverence. He seemed a twin-star of the defendant—equal in honour, in confidence; equal also, (for who could be superior?) in probity and humanity. To this gentleman was my client consigned, and in his custody he remained about seven weeks, unthought of by the world, as if he had never existed. The oblivion of the *dungeon,* is as profound as the oblivion of the dead; his family may have mourned his absence, or his probable death; but why should I mention so paltry a circumstance? The fears, or the sorrows of the wretched, give no interruption to the general progress of things. The sun rose, and the sun set, just as it did before—the business of the government, the business of the castle, of the feast, or the torture, went on with their usual exactness and tranquillity. At length Mr. Hevey was discovered among the sweepings of the prison; and was finally to be disposed of. He was at last honoured with the personal notice of Major Sandys—'Hevey,' says the major, I have seen you ride, I think, a smart sort of mare; you can't use her here; you had better give me an order for her." The plaintiff, you may well suppose, by this time had a tolerable idea of his situation; he thought he might have much to fear from a refusal, and something to hope from a compliance; at all events, he saw it would be a means of apprizing his family that he was not dead—he instantly gave the order required. The major

graciously accepted it, saying, 'your courtesy will not cost you much, you are to be sent down to morrow to Kilkenny to be tried for your life; you will most certainly be hanged; and you can scacrely think that your journey to the other world will be performed on horseback.' The humane, and honourable major was equally a prophet with his compeer. The plaintiff on the next day took leave of his prison, as he supposed for the last time, and was sent under a guard to Kilkenny, then the head-quarters of Sir Charles Asgil, there to be tried by court martial for such crime, as might chance to be alleged against him. In any other country, the scene that took place on that occasion, might excite no little horror and astonishment; but with us, these sensations are become extinguished by frequency of repetition. I am instructed, that a proclamation was sent forth, offering a reward to any man, who would come forward, and give any evidence against the traitor Hevey. An unhappy wretch, who had been shortly before condemned to die, and was then lying ready for execution, was allured by the proposal. His integrity was not firm enough to hesitate long, between the alternative proposed; pardon, favour, and reward, with perjury on one side; the rope and the gibbet on the other. His loyalty decided the question against his soul. He was examined, and Hevey was appointed by the sentence of a mild, and no doubt, enlightened court-martial, to take the place of the witness, and succeed to the vacant halter. Hevey, you may suppose (continued Mr. Curran,) now thought his labours at an end; but he was mistaken; his hour was not yet come. You are probably gentlemen, or you, my Lord, are accounting for his escape, by the fortunate recollection of some early circumstances, that might have smote upon the sensibility of Sir Charles Asgil, and made him to believe, that he was in debt to providence for the life of one innocent, though convicted victim. But it was not so, his escape was purely accidental. The proceedings upon his trial, happened to meet the eye

of Lord Cornwallis. The freaks of fortune are not always cruel; in the bitterness of her jocularity, you see she can adorn the miscreancy of the slave, in the trappings of power, and rank, and wealth. But her playfulness is not always inhuman; she will sometimes in her gambols, fling oil upon the wounds of the sufferer; she will sometimes save the captive from the dungeon and the grave, were it only, that she might afterwards consign him to his destiny, by the reprisal of capricious cruelty upon fantastic commiseration. Lord Cornwallis read the transmiss of Hevey's condemnation; his heart recoiled from the detail of stupidity and barbarity. He dashed his pen across the odious record, and ordered that Hevey should be forthwith liberated. I cannot but highly honour him for his conduct in this instance; nor, when I recollect his peculiar situation at that disastrous period, can I much blame him for not having acted towards that court, with the same vigour and indignation, which he has since shewn with respect to those abominable jurisdictions. Hevey was now a man again, he shook the dust of his feet against his prison gate; his heart beat the response to the anticipated embrace of his family, and his friends, and he returned to Dublin. On his arrival here, one of the first persons he met was his old friend, Major Sandys. In the eye of poor Hevey, justice and humanity had shorn the Major of his beams, he no longer regarded him with respect or terror. He demanded his mare; observing, that 'though he might have travelled to heaven on foot, he thought it more comfortable to perform his earthly journeys on horseback.' 'Ungrateful villain,' said the Major; 'is this the gratitude you shew to his Majesty and to me, for our clemency to you? you shan't get possession of the beast, which you have forfeited by your treason, nor can I suppose, that a noble animal, that has been honoured with conveying the weight of duty and allegiance, would condescend to load her loyal loins with the vile burden of a convicted traitor.' As to the Major (said Mr. Curran) I am not

surprised that he spoke and acted as he did. He was no doubt astonished, at the impudence and novelty of calling the privileges of official plunder into question. Hardened by the numberless instances of that mode of unpunished acquisition, he had erected the frequency of impunity into a sort of warrant of spoil and rapine. One of these instances, I feel, I am now bringing to the memory of your lordship. A learned and respected brother barrister, had a silver cup; the Major heard that for many years it had borne an inscription of "Erin go brach," which means "Ireland for ever." The Major considered this perseverance in guilt for such a length of years, as a forfeiture of the delinquent vessel. My poor friend was accordingly robbed of his cup. But, upon writing to the then attorney-general, that excellent officer felt the outrage, as it was his nature to feel every thing that was barbarous or base; and the Major's loyal side-board was condemned to the grief of restitution. And here, (said Mr. Curran) let me say in my own defence, that this is the only occasion, upon which I have ever mentioned this circumstance with the least appearance of lightness. I have often told the story in a way that it would not become me to tell it here. I have told it in the spirit of those feelings, which were excited at seeing, that one man could be sober and humane at a crisis, when so many thousands were drunk and barbarous. And probably my statement was not stinted by the recollection, that I held that person in peculiar respect and regard. But little does it signify, whether acts of moderation and humanity are blazoned by gratitude, by flattery or by friendship; they are recorded in the heart from which they sprung: and in the hour of adverse vicissitude, if it should ever come, sweet is the odour of their memory, and precious is the balm of their consolation. But to return:—Hevey brought an action for his mare. The Major not choosing to come into court, and thereby suggest the probable success of a thousand actions, restored the property, and paid the costs of the suit,

to the attorney of Mr. Hevey. It may perhaps strike you, my lord, said Mr. Curran, as if I was stating, what was not relevant to the action. It is materially pertinent; I am stating a system of concerted vengeance and oppression. These two men acted in concert; they were Archer and Aimwell. You master at Lichfield, and I at Coventry. You plunder in the jail, and I tyrant in the street. And in our respective situations, we will co-operate in the common cause of robbery and vengeance. And I state this, (said Mr. Curran) because I see Major Sandys in court. And because, I feel I can prove the fact, beyond the possibility of denial. If he does not dare to appear, so called upon as I have called upon him, I prove it by his not daring to appear. If he does venture to come forward, I will prove it by his own oath; or if he ventures to deny a syllable that I have stated, I will prove by irrefragable evidence of record, that his denial is false and perjured. Thus far, gentlemen, (said Mr. Curran) we have traced the plantiff through the strange vicissitudes of barbarous imprisonment, of atrocious condemnation, and of accidental deliverance. Here Mr. Curran described the feelings of himself and his family, upon his restoration; his difficulties on his return; his struggle against the aspersions on his character; his renewed industry; his gradual success; the implacable malignity of Sirr and Sandys; and the immediate cause of the present action. Three years (said Mr. Curran) had elapsed, since the deliverance of my client; the public atmosphere had cleared—the private destiny of Hevey seemed to have brightened, but the malice of his enemies had not been appeased. On the 8th of September last, Mr. Hevey was sitting in a public coffee-house, Major Sirr was there. Mr. Hevey was informed that the major had at that moment said, that he (Hevey) ought to have been hanged. The plaintiff was fired at the charge; he fixed his eye on Sirr, and asked, if he had dared to say so. Sirr declared that he had; and had said truly. Hevey answered that he was a

slanderous scoundrel. At the instant Sirr rushed upon him, and assisted by three or four of his satellites, who had attended him in disguise, secured him and sent him to the Castle-guard, desiring that a receipt might be given for the villain. He was sent thither. The officer of the guard chanced to be an Englishman, but lately arrived in Ireland, he said to the bailiffs, 'If this was in England, I should think this gentleman entitled to bail; but I don't know the laws of this country. However, I think you had better loosen those irons on his wrists, or I think they may kill him.'

"Major Sirr, the defendant, soon arrived, went into his office, and returned with an order which he had written, and by virtue of which Mr. Hevey was conveyed to the custody of his old friend and jailor, Major Sandys. Here he was flung into a room of about thirteen feet by twelve—it was called, the hospital of the provost. It was occupied by six beds, in which were to lie fourteen or fifteen miserable wretches, some of them sinking under contagious diseases. On his first entrance, the light that was admitted by the opening of the door, disclosed to him a view of the sad fellow-sufferers, for whose loathsome society he was once more to exchange the cheerful haunts of men, the use of open air, and of his own limbs; and where he was condemned to expiate the disloyal hatred and contempt, which he had dared to shew to the overweening and felonious arrogance of slaves in office, and minions in authority; here he passed the first night, without bed or food. The next morning, his humane keeper, the Major, appeared. The plantiff demanded, 'why he was so imprisoned?' complained of hunger, and asked for the jail allowance. Major Sandys replied with a torrent of abuse, which he concluded by saying—'Your crime is your insolence to Major Sirr; however, he disdains to trample upon you—you may appease him by proper and contrite submission; but unless you do so, you shall rot where you are. I tell you this, that if government do not protect us, by

God we will not protect them. You will probably, (for I know your insolent and ungrateful hardiness,) attempt to get out by an habeas corpus; but in that you will find yourself mistaken, as such a rascal deserves.' Hevey was insolent enough to issue an habeas corpus, and a return was made upon it—'that Hevey was in custody under a warrant from General Craigh, on a charge of treason.' That this return was a gross falsehood, fabricated by Sirr, I am instructed to assert.—Let him prove the truth of it, if he can. The judge, before whom this return was brought, felt that he had no authority to liberate the unhappy prisoner; and thus, by a most inhuman and audacious lie, my client was again remanded to the horrid mansion of pestilence and famine." Mr. Curran proceeded to describe the feelings of Mr. Hevey, the despair of his friends, the ruin of his affairs, the insolence of Sandys, his offer to set him at large on condition of making an abject submission to Sirr; the indignant rejection of Hevey; the supplication of his father and sister, rather to submit to an enemy, however base and odious, than perish in such a situation; the repugnance of Hevey, the repetition of kind remonstrance, and the final submission of Hevey to their entreaties; his signing a submission, dictated by Sandys, and his enlargement from confinement. Thus, said Mr. Curran, was he kicked from his gaol into the common mass of his fellow-slaves, by yielding to the tender entreaties of the kindred that loved him, to sign, what was in fact, a release of his claim to the common rights of a human creature, by humbling himself to the brutal arrogance of a pampered slave. But he did suffer the dignity of his nature to be subdued by its kindness; he has been enlarged, and he has brought the present action. As to the facts that he had stated, Mr. Curran said, he would make a few observations:—it might be said for the defendant, that much of what was stated, may not appear in proof. To that, he said, he would not have so stated, if he had not seen Major Sandys in court; he had therefore put the facts

against him, in a way which he thought most likely to rouse him to a defence of his own character, if he dared to be examined as a witness. He had, he trusted, made him feel, that he had no way of escaping universal detestation, but by denying those charges, if they were false, and if they were not denied, being thus publicly asserted, his entire case was admitted—his original oppression in the provost was admitted, his robbery of the cup was admitted, his robbery of the mare was admitted, the lie so audaciously forged on the habeas corpus was admitted, the extortion of the infamous apology was admitted. Again, said Mr. Curran, I challenge this worthy compeer of a worthy compeer, to make his election, between proving his guilt by his own corporal oath, or by the more credible modesty of his silence. "And now," said Mr. Curran, "I have given you a mere sketch of this extraordinary history. No country governed by any settled laws, or treated with common humanity, could furnish any occurrences of such unparalled atrocity, and if the author of 'Caleb Williams,' or of the 'Simple Story,' were to read the tale of this man's sufferings, it might I think humble the vanity of their talents, (if they are not too proud to be vain), when they saw how much a more fruitful source of incident could be found in the infernal workings of the heart of a malignant slave, than in the richest copiousness of the most fertile and creative imagination." *

The persecution which poor Hevey endured—the hardships he suffered during his confinement—the ruin brought on his business by his absence, and the expenses attendant on his trial at Kilkenny, eventually impaired his reason, and he died a few years ago, a pauper, in the beggars' hospital in Channel-row.

The wretches retained in the service of Sirr,—regularly sent on assize-duty—provided with clothing for special occasions—conveyed to and fro at the public expense, and boarded and lodged either with Hanlon, the under-keeper of the Tower, or Watkins, the

* Trial, Hevey v. Sirr.—Stockdale's edition.

keeper of the Castle Tavern, or domiciled in the Tower, under the immediate care and inspection of Mr. James O'Brien, have been described by Curran. In his admirable speech on the trial of Peter Finnerty, in 1797, he thus speaks of this band of informers :—

"I speak not now of the public proclamations for informers, with a promise of secrecy and extravagant reward! I speak not of those unfortunate wretches, who have been so often transferred from the table to the dock, and from the dock to the pillory!—I speak of what your own eyes have seen day after day during the course of this Commission, while you attended this court:—the number of horrid miscreants, who acknowledged upon their oaths that they had come from the seat of Government—from the very chambers of the Castle, where they had been worked upon by the fear of death, and the hopes of compensation, to give evidence against their fellows. That the mild, the wholesome and merciful councils of this government, are holden over those catacombs of living death, where the wretch that is buried a *Man*, lies till his heart has time to fester and dissolve, and then is dug up an *Informer*.

"Is this a picture created by a hag-ridden fancy, or is it fact? Have you not seen him after his resurrection from that tomb, make his appearance upon your table, the living image of life and death, and the supreme arbiter of both?—Have you not marked, when he entered, how the stormy wave of the multitude retired at his approach?—Have you not seen how the human heart bowed to the awful supremacy of his power, in the undissembled homage of deferential horror?—How his glance, like the lightning of Heaven, seemed to rive the body of the accused, and mark it for the grave, while his voice warned the devoted wretch of woe and death;—a death which no innocence can escape, no art elude, no force resist, no antidote prevent. There was an antidote,—a juror's oath! But even that adamantine chain, which bound the integrity of man to the

throne of Eternal Justice, is solved and molten by the breath which issues from the mouth of the informer; conscience swings from her moorings—the appalled and affrighted juror speaks what his soul abhors, and consults his own safety in the surrender of the victim:

——Et quæ sibi quisque timebat,
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere.

Informers are worshipped in the temple of justice, even as the devil has been worshipped by Pagans and savages; even so, in this wicked country, is the informer an object of judicial idolatry; even so is he soothed by the music of human groans—even so is he placated and incensed by the fumes and by the blood of human sacrifices." *

The extent to which the system of espionage was carried on, will now hardly be thought credible.

In Sept. 1797,—a Mr. Watkins, in the Castle, dieted Messrs. Newell, Murdock, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermott, Kavanagh.

In Jan. 1798,—Wheatley, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham, and Travers, were on the Major's list, at one guinea a week each.

In April 7, 1798,—Major Sirr employed Doran, M'Allister, and Magrath, attending the assizes.

In Jan. 1799,—Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers, were the Major's people.

In July, 1800,—Major Sirr paid off half-a-dozen of the battalion: Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Dan. Gore, James Murphy, John Kearney.

In Feb. 1801,—Wheatley was paid off.

In March, 1801,—Major Sirr lost the services of James O'Brien, committed on a charge of murder.

In July, 1801,—Chapman, in Cork, was paid off, after one year and one month's service.

In August, 1801,—Edward Lennon was sent "out of town" by Mr. Trevor.

* Ridgeway's Report, p. 84.

In October, 1801,—Hanlon was employed to bury Edward Lennon.

In Dec. 1801.—Campbell was paid for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan and Hughes: and Major Sirr discharged two men on his list, who were employed in the country at one guinea each.

In Feb. 1802,—Major Sirr came to a final settlement with John Beckett, Mrs. Lennon, Mrs. Dunn, Charles M'Gowran, John Kearney, and Dan. Cart——, in full of their claims.

In the latter part of the same month,—Major Sirr settled also with Mrs. O'Brien, John Neil, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and J. H. Jackson.

In June, 1802,—Coleman was settled with, in full of all claims.

In Oct. 1802,—John Conlan and E. O'Neil were discharged.

In May, 1803,—Richard Chapman was paid off, and the major's people then were, Boyle, Carroll, Smith and Farrell.

In Oct. 1803,—Dr. Trevor paid off Ryan and Mahaffy: and Major Sirr settled with Condon, for informing against Howley.

In November, 1803,—the Major's battalion had dwindled down to Carroll, Boylan, and a few minor miscreants; and, at the end of that month, they likewise were paid off, and the Major appears to have been compelled to "abate his train," and to have experienced the fate of Lear at the hands of Goneril.

The deeds of these men, even while they were under his direction, and that of Major Sandys, domiciled in their quarters in the Castle, were of the most lawless and violent description. Newell fired a pistol at a sentinel, on guard at the principal entrance to the Castle, because the soldier dared to prevent his entering at an unseasonable hour of the night; for this slight offence, Newell was confined to his room in the Castle for a few days. Murdock attempted to murder Newell in the Castle; he fired at this man in his own room; and Murdock being a per-

son of less importance to his employers than Newell, he was sent to Newgate. Mr. James Bird, *alias* Smith, a native of England, on whose information Neilson, and several northerns, were arrested, subsequently retracted what he had sworn. He fled from the Castle, and wrote a letter to Mr. Cooke,* threatening disclosures of the means that had been taken to procure his testimony; and was apprehended in Louth, in the latter part of 1798. During his confinement in Newgate, he wrote a letter to Mr. Grattan,† acknowledging that he had been tampered with by one of his enemies, to give evidence against him. He addressed a similar letter to Neilson; another letter to Mr. John Giffard, in which he reminds him of his literary labours in the "Dublin Journal."‡ Bird's example was followed by John Edward Newell; he likewise abandoned the battalion of the Major, fled from the Castle, made a written statement of his perjuries, and subsequently wrote a pamphlet, in which he detailed the iniquities of his career as an informer. His letter to Mr. Cooke was published in the "Press," No. 56; and his pamphlet (one of the most singular records of infamy probably in existence) was printed in Belfast, where he fled on his abandonment of his calling. There he revenged himself of Murdock for his attack on his life, by robbing that person of his wife; and when on the point of embarking at a place called Doagh, in the neighbourhood of Belfast—the scene of his former services, when he went about in a mask, escorted by General Barber and a party of soldiers, and pointed out such persons as he thought proper to swear against,—he suddenly disappeared, and there is but too much reason to believe he was murdered by the very persons who harboured him at that place, and had kept him previously concealed in Belfast.

These are frightful statements; but those who

* "Press" Newspaper, March 1, 1798. M'Donnell's "Dublin Weekly Journal," 24th February, 1798.

† Grattan's Life, by his Son, vol. iv. p. 427.

‡ "Press" Newspaper, 6th February, 1798.

think they should be buried in oblivion, either have more consideration for the dead than the living, or have more regard for their own sensations, than for the security of society from the machinations of such miscreants. Who can become acquainted with such statements, and reflect on the results of public commotions—the disengagement of wickedness that then takes place in the conflict of all the antagonist elements of society—without feeling, that the greatest of all human evils is civil war, and the conduct that leads to it the highest of all crimes.

The career of one of the subordinate agents of that system, of which Major Sirr was the chief functionary, remains to be noticed.

The favourite follower and emissary of Major Sirr was a man of the name of O'Brien. The infamy of this man's character is without a parallel in our history. In France, his depravity may have been equalled, but it could hardly have been surpassed.

A detailed and authentic account of O'Brien's career has been given in a recent periodical, which fully agrees with all the information I have received respecting this man's exploits and character :—

"O'Brien was a native of Stradbally, in the Queen's County; and having early in life lost his character amongst his rustic neighbours, he subsequently came to Dublin, and for a few years found employment in the gardens of Mr. La Touche at Marley. Being of an idle and vicious nature, he afterwards enlisted in the service of some excise officer, and first commenced his career as an informer and impostor, by prying into the conduct of the publicans in the neighbourhood of Dublin, for breaches of the revenue regulations; and between the rewards he received from his employers, and the bribes he extorted from the publicans whom he intimidated, he contrived to supply his pockets with money for some time. The political organization which was in progress amongst the people of Dublin in the early part of the year 1797, afforded however a more lucrative employment for the spy and informer, than the pursuits in which

he had been heretofore engaged. In the month of April, 1797, O'Brien informed a magistrate of the Queen's County, named Higgins, who was then in Dublin, that he knew all the circumstances connected with the organization of the Union then going on amongst the people; and that he had been forced to take the oath of the society contrary to his inclination. Higgins immediately communicated the intelligence to Lord Portarlington, who afterwards introduced O'Brien to Mr. Secretary Cooke, and some members of the government, in the chamber of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Having heard the story from O'Brien, it was finally arranged between him and his new friends, in order to ensure the fulfilment of their projects, that O'Brien should enlist in one of the dragoon regiments, then quartered in Dublin, and still continue to attend the meetings of the society for the acquisition of further intelligence. What object was to be obtained by enrolling this man in the ranks of a dragoon regiment, it would be difficult to conjecture, unless, perhaps, that having engaged him as a spy and informer to go into the city, the advisers of the government thought they might likewise avail themselves of his services within the walls of the barracks, where it was suspected that sedition was also making its way amongst the military bands; but from whatever motive the plan proceeded, the attorney-general openly avowed the arrangement thus agreed upon, during the course of the trials that subsequently occurred. O'Brien, acting under the guidance of his employers, continued to communicate with them, and, according to his own testimony, was actually appointed secretary to a branch of the confederacy during this period; and in the month of May, 1797, a considerable number of men assembled in a public house in Meath-street, were apprehended by Major Sirr and a military party, and upon O'Brien's information, were subsequently indicted for high treason. The trial of the persons thus apprehended did not take place until the month of January, 1798, and

during that interval O'Brien continued on active service for the state; but his first appearance in a court of justice, as a witness, put an end to his utility in that character by the exposure of his infamous life, and the enormity of the perjuries he dared to practice on the occasion.

"The first victim selected for his testimony was a person named Patrick Finney. The informer's tale was well connected and artfully told; being uncontradicted, a conviction upon an indictment for high treason must have followed; but the accused was ably defended, and by the united effect of a masterly cross-examination of the informer himself, and the testimony of several respectable witnesses, O'Brien's evidence was discredited, and Finney was acquitted. The lives of a crowd of men depended upon the result of this first trial; and the crown prosecutors, finding their chief evidence thus branded with perjury in the outset, were obliged to abandon the prosecution of all the other persons who had been apprehended upon his information, and they were consequently discharged upon the motion of the attorney-general, at the termination of the commission.

"The stop thus put to O'Brien's murderous career, was chiefly owing to the skill and advocacy of Curran, who defended Finney. His address to the court contains some of the finest specimens of eloquence that even *he* ever delivered. The witness having stated that he knew of ten thousand men being leagued in treasonable conspiracy within the city of Dublin, Mr. Curran, in commenting on that allegation, said,—'Are you prepared, when O'Brien shall come forward against ten thousand of your fellow-citizens, to assist him in digging the graves which he has destined to receive them, one by one? No! could your hearts yield for a moment to the suggestion, your own reflections would vindicate the justice of God, and the insulted character of man; you would fly from the secrets of your chamber, and take refuge in the multitude from these 'compunctious visitings,' which meaner men would not look on with-

out horror. Do not think I am speaking disrespectfully of you when I say, that while an O'Brien may be found, it may be the lot of the proudest among you to be in the dock instead of the jury box. How then, on such an occasion, would any of you feel, if such evidence as has been heard this day were adduced against you? The application affects you—you shrink from the imaginary situation; remember then the great mandate of your religion—'Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you.' Why do you condescend to listen to me with such attention? Why are you so anxious, if even from me any thing should fall tending to enlighten you on the present awful occasion? Is it because, bound by the sacred obligations of an oath, your hearts will not allow you to forfeit it? Have you any doubt that it is the object of O'Brien to take down the prisoner for the reward that follows? Have you not seen with what more than instinctive keenness this bloodhound has pursued his victim? How he has kept him in view from place to place, until he hunts him through the avenues of the court, to where the unhappy man stands now, hopeless of all succour but that which your verdict shall afford. I have heard of assassinations by sword, by pistol, and by dagger, but here is a wretch who would dip the Evangelists in blood! If he thinks he has not sworn his victim to death, he is ready to swear without mercy and without end: but oh! do not, I conjure you, suffer him to take an oath: the hand of the murderer should not pollute the purity of the gospel; or if he will swear, let it be by the knife, the proper symbol of his profession.'

"No longer daring to use him as a witness in the courts of justice, O'Brien was still retained by the authorities, and kept on duty within the corridors of the Castle, where, under the guidance and protection of Majors Sandys and Sirr, he rendered such services as his peculiar character and abilities afforded. Many persons are still living, who have seen Major Sirr, accompanied by O'Brien and a band of his confederates, passing through the public

thoroughfares in quest of victims; and their descriptions still vividly depict the horror and apprehension with which he and they were regarded, and unfold many acts of the brutal and audacious spirit in which their missions were performed. A gentleman of distinction in our city, lately described to the writer a scene which he beheld in the open day, during the period to which we are now alluding. He said, that he remembered upon one particular occasion, having seen Major Sirr come out of the lower Castle gate, accompanied by O'Brien and a few others, and then proceed along Dame-street. That a gentleman of a distinguished mien, and evidently a stranger, attracted by the singular appearance of the party, stopped, and with an indication of surprise regarded them as they went by him. The manner of the stranger attracted the notice of O'Brien, who, darting from his place in the group, prostrated the gentleman upon the pavement with a well-directed blow. Major Sirr, hearing the noise, turned round, and seizing O'Brien, thrust him back to his place again, and then proceeded onward without further noticing the audacity of his subordinate. The crowd gathered about the indignant gentlemen, and raised him from the ground: he spoke of the laws, and said something of redress, but his silent auditors only shook their heads and passed away.

"While Sandys and Sirr were thus employed against the political adversaries of the government, under its authority and for its rewards, they were not neglectful of the opportunities which their avocations afforded for the acquisition of property, by the plunder of those whose homes were open to their scrutiny. Under the authority with which they were invested, they ransacked the houses of the most respectable citizens in search of men; but plate, jewels, pictures, and other portable property, were openly appropriated by these functionaries to their own use and advantage. * * *

"The year 1798 passed away with its horrors; the insurrection had subsided, and the silence of a subdued nation was hailed as the restoration of tran-

quillity. The valuable services of O'Brien were no longer needed, and he became a troublesome encumbrance to his former protectors. Could he, like his brother professor Reynolds, have referred to his services, and enumerated his claims upon the state, by the number of 'the coffins he had filled,' he would have been loaded with wealth, and enabled, like that individual, to leave a country where his life was both hateful and insecure; but Providence decided otherwise, and, by a just retribution, that government which had once endeavoured to make O'Brien the intermediate instrument in the destruction of others, in a short time after became his own accuser. In the month of May, in the memorable year 1800, the vigilance of the authorities was aroused by the circumstance of a number of persons assembling in a field in the vicinity of Kilmainham, for the purpose of playing foot-ball. This event, unimportant as it was, however, had its effect upon the troubled conscience of the state; and apprehending that sedition lurked in the ranks of the ball-players, Major Sirr was directed to interrupt the game, and capture any suspected characters that his loyal instinct might detect amongst the crowd. Having arrived at the field, which was enclosed by a high wall, he stationed O'Brien and some soldiers at one side, with directions to prevent the egress of the people, while Sirr, accompanied by another military party, proceeded to enter the field by the common entrance. O'Brien, however, was not satisfied to remain on the outside, and proceeded to climb over the wall into the field. Some persons seeing him thus scaling the wall with soldiers, and fearing that an attack was about to be made upon them, cried out, 'O'Brien the informer!' upon which the game was suspended, and the people began to move away from that quarter of the field. Infuriated by the manner in which his appearance was announced, O'Brien leaped from the wall, and rushing upon a decrepid invalid, named John Hoey, who was standing by observing the scene, with a dagger stabbed him to the heart! This murder, although

done in their service, still was too foul even for his powerful patrons to protect O'Brien against its consequences; and a prosecution having been instituted by the relatives of the victim, the government gave up its indiscreet servant to be dealt with by the very laws, which its own conduct had previously taught him to disregard. On O'Brien's trial, Major Sirr appeared as a witness for the defence, and endeavoured to induce the court to believe that the prisoner was subject to mental derangement; but the jury, without hesitation, pronounced him guilty, and the presiding judge (Day) sentenced him to death. 'If murder admitted of aggravation,'—said that learned judge upon the occasion—'the felon's crime, which had been clearly established in evidence to the full satisfaction of the court and jury, was aggravated by the most unprovoked, wanton, and savage cruelty; he murdered an innocent, infirm, and defenceless man; a man with whom it was probable he had no previous intercourse, and in consequence against whom he could harbour no particular malice; but it was therefore substantiated that he cherished malice prepense against mankind in general, whence he became a member unfit for society, for whose sake and example he should be made an ignominious and disgraceful sacrifice.' On the gibbet, O'Brien expressed his disappointment at the ingratitude of the state, for abandoning him in his hour of need, and died warning the concourse by which he was surrounded, never to put any trust in the Castle authorities." *

In the preceding account, mention is made of the brutal conduct of the major's people towards the inhabitants of Dublin, but the fact that is stated would give a very inadequate idea of the extent to which that conduct was carried. O'Brien and his associates usually followed Major Sirr at a short distance when he went abroad; if any one stopped to look after the major, he was hustled, not unfrequently beaten by his myrmidons, and if he ventured to remonstrate, was carried off to the Castle guard-

* "Dublin Monthly Magazine," April, 1842.

house or Sandys' provost. On one occasion, a respectable merchant of Dublin, a Mr. M'Cabe, having committed the treasonable offence to the major's dignity of turning round to look after him as he passed, he was instantly struck on the head by O'Brien; his hat was knocked off, and while stooping in the act of picking it up, he was kicked by this ruffian.

There was no redress for these acts: the man who might be fool enough to seek it, would become a marked man; subject to be taken up on suspicion, sworn against as in Hevey's case, and perhaps hanged. A gentlemen of the name of Adrien, was seen looking up at the windows of the Exchange, where some prisoners were confined; he was tapped on the shoulder by the major, and told, at his peril, to turn his eyes on that side of the street again. The floggings in the Castle-yard were frequently attended by O'Brien and his gang, and the victims, while writhing under the lash, were treated by them with brutal jests and vulgar ribaldry.

In turning the prisoners to pecuniary account, Sirr and Sandys played into one another's hands,—the major made the arrests, turned over the prisoners to Sandys and O'Brien, and the latter duly worked upon their hopes and fears alternately, threatening them with perpetual imprisonment, transportation, or the triangles, and acquainting them with the kindness of the major's heart, the forgiveness of his disposition, and the necessity of making a proper compliment either in goods or money. Every act of favour or indulgence was a perquisite in the provost. Hevey's liberation cost him a horse,—M'Gauran's, of Patrick-street, cost him a house at Tallagh. This man was a grocer, living in the vicinity of the depot of Robert Emmett, where the explosion took place. He was in nowise connected with Emmett, or cognizant of his plans, but he had a quantity of wine strongly suspected of being long in bottle; he was arrested by the major, sent to the provost, and committed to the care of Sandys—he came out deprived

of nearly all his property. A Mr. Cosgrave, of Crumlin, was suspected of possessing certain popish pictures he had brought with him from Italy; his house was ransacked on the plea of searching for a suspected servant,—the servant was not found there, but the pictures were detected, and there was presumptive proof of their having been painted by old masters. The major was a lover of the arts;—not, indeed, a scrupulous collector: he left the largest collection of indifferent pictures that ever came under the Dublin hammer.

While Holt was confined in the tower, he suffered continually from O'Brien's rapacity, and his attempts to persuade him to turn approver against his associates. He was persecuted by the attentions of one of the sisters of O'Brien, who came to see him from Ballynakill, and who appears to have been employed to conquer the obstinacy of the intractable rebel, which no other efforts were able to accomplish. This damsel was accompanied by her sister, and their chief business in town appears to have been to obtain a pardon for their brother John, who had been one of Holt's rebel band. Holt speaks of him as an active useful fellow, while with him, and of "Jemmy having enlisted him in his own diabolical employment of obtaining confidence in order to betray it." Jemmy had him now disguised as a sailor, and the duty assigned to him was, "to frequent the low public houses, and get wretched drunken creatures to utter treasonable words, and then with Jemmy's assistance, he soon lodged them in limbo, and they were generally punished upon the testimony of these two birds of prey." Another of Holt's rebel band, John O'Neil, a man of great ferocity, who had attempted to murder a young gentleman of the name of Pilsworth, was imprisoned in the tower; he likewise was gained over by the persuasive eloquence of O'Brien and his master, and became one of the battalion of testimony, of whom mention will be found illustrative of the value of his services. Like Holt, when he beheld these wretches

— "murderers and informers in co-partnership, living in the possession of plenty," we may conclude —"the reign of iniquity is short, and its punishment is eventually certain." *

The names of these men, and the acts which chiefly gained them notoriety, are briefly noticed here, as their names frequently occur in documents that have reference to these times.

M'Cann was first produced by the Major on the trial of a man of the name of Maguire; he broke down in his testimony. He was one of Lord Carhampton's protegées. Reference having been made on this trial to O'Brien's evidence, the Major, on his examination respecting M'Cann's testimony, swore that "he thought as well of him (M'Cann) as of O'Brien." The jury believed neither, and they acquitted the prisoners.

Conlan was an apothecary in Dundalk, who swore against his own three cousins (a father and his two sons), who, being convicted on his evidence, were executed.

William Lawler was brought forward as a witness against the Defenders, in Dublin, in 1795. He broke down in his testimony on Leary's trial, and the prisoner was acquitted. †

Mitchell, one of the Major's own men, living in Ship-street, employed in the seizure at Finnerty's office, in 1797.

James Gray, of Tamlaght, gave evidence at the Londonderry Assizes against William M'Keever, in September, 1797; broke down in his evidence, and the prisoner was acquitted.

Cooper, whose real name was Morgan, was a returned convict from transportation.

Walsh swore against a young gentleman of the name of Clinch, of Rathcool, the preparations for whose execution, we are informed by Mr. Moore, was the occasion of the violent excitement of poor Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which hastened his dissolution.

* Memoirs of Holt, by T. Crofton Croker, vol. i. p. 307.
† "Dublin Evening Post," Sept. 23, 1797.

The only comment on Walsh's evidence which I shall offer, is a copy of a letter addressed to his father immediately before his execution, for which I am indebted to one his friends, still living in Dublin.*

"HONOURED FATHER,

"I expected to have seen or heard from you ere this. I fear my fate is determined; I am told I am to suffer death this day. It would be a great satisfaction to me to see you before I die; and if you could bring or send a priest to me, I think I could then die happy: at all events, I will meet my fate with fortitude.

"I would not, for worlds, exchange situations with Walsh my prosecutor, who has behaved in the most base and treacherous manner, and swore to several falsehoods. His charges were as follows:—That I swore him to be true to the French, and that I was a serjeant in the rebels, and attended a meeting of serjeants to elect a captain. Dear Father, I assure you the foregoing charges are false, and, as I hope for salvation, I declared the truth at the court-martial. I hope, dear Father, you will bear this with fortitude, and comfort my dear Mother on this trying occasion. I feel more for my friends than myself. My love to my dear sister Swords, Ann, Kitty, Fanny, Alicia, Michael and Larrey, and my brother-in-law Swords. As I am preparing for that awful moment, I beg you 'll excuse any omission on my side.

"I am, honoured Father,

"Your ever dutiful and now
unfortunate Son,

"*Provost Prison, June* 2, 1798, "JOHN CLINCH.
Eight o'clock in the Morning."

* Mr. Clinch was, I believe the brother of the performer of his name, who was the most distinguished actor of the day in Ireland. His principal characters were Beverley, Oroonoko, Joseph Surface, Jacques, &c. He was in vogue in Dublin 1792-3-4 & 5.

Mr. Kerr of Newtownards, in March 1797, was arrested and sent on board a tender, subsequently sent to jail, and while in confinement became an informer. The informations he laid were against four respectable young men in the north of Ireland. Personal fear and the arts of the Major's officials, had gained another member for the battalion, in Kerr. He was confined in the same gaol with Neilson, Teeling, Russell and Mr. Cracken, and a few days before the trial of the young men above-mentioned, one of the state prisoners, I have reason to believe Henry Joy M'Cracken, who was somewhat noted for his powers of mimicry and personation of other people, contrived to get admission in the garb of a clergyman, to the remote part of the prison, where Kerr was concealed. Under the pretence of ministering to his spiritual wants, and making him sensible of his former errors, he drew such a frightful picture of the calamities, which perjury and treachery were calculated to draw on the families of the unfortunate victims of spies, &c., that Kerr, stung to the quick, confessed his intentions, with respect to his former associates, and promised, that nothing would ever induce him to give evidence against them, that would do them hurt. The solemn-looking gentleman in black withdrew, returned to his companions, resumed his natural sprightly air, and told the result of his first efforts in his new calling. He exclaimed, says Teeling, "we have rescued four men from death, and Kerr from perdition."* Kerr kept his word at the approaching assizes; he was as usual on such occasions, newly dressed for the witness box, at the public expense, taken down to the assizes, escorted by a troop of dragoons, for the informers who attended the assizes, were on most occasions similarly attended; but Kerr could not be got to swear up to the mark, and the men were accordingly acquitted.

One of the informers who rose to distinction in 1798, was a Mr. Frederick Dutton, a native of

* "Teeling's Narrative of the Irish Rebellion," p. 80.

England, some time settled at Newry, in the North of Ireland. His services were called into requisition on grand occasions, such as at the trial of O'Connor, Quigley, Burns, Allen, and Leary, at Maidstone, in the May of 1798. Dutton commenced his career in the north and was the predecessor of Mr. Newel. He had been a servant to a Mr. Carlisle, and discharged on an accusation of theft. He then became an informer, and was raised by Lord Carhampton to the rank of quarter-master in the corps of artillery in that quarter, in the years 1795 or 1796. When O'Connor and his companions were arrested at Margate, a treasonable paper purporting to be addressed by a secret political society in England to the directory in France, inviting the French to invade England, was said to be found in the pocket of Quigley. It was produced on the trial, and sworn to by Dutton (who was specially sent from Dublin), as being in the handwriting of Quigley. The author has reason to believe, that Quigley was a member of the Society of United Irishmen, but he had no connection with any English society. The circumstance of a treasonable paper of this kind having been left in the pocket of a great-coat hung up in a public coffee room, was an evidence of folly, that the man's character repudiated, and to the last moment of his life, he persisted in declaring that paper had never been in his possession. The fact is, the coat was mistaken for O'Connor's, it being the fashion at that period for persons of rank to wear powder, and the collar of the coat found, shewing the appearance of hair-powder, it was supposed to be O'Connor's. Quigley unfortunately for him, did wear powder, and the circumstance proved fatal to him. A different version of this affair has been given by one who was counsel for one of the prisoners at Maidstone.

The following remarks on the trial and condemnation of Quigley, are extracted from a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas Attwood, by a person styling himself "a Disciple of John Horne Tooke." This

letter appeared in the Sun newspaper, in December, 1839, and the writer of it states, that he was the council for Quigley's fellow-prisoner, Leary, and on referring to the trial, I find the council for Leary, was Mr. Scott.

"HIGH TREASON.

"*To Thomas Attwood, Esq.*

"BEFORE many of you were born, I was council at the state trials at Maidstone, in 1798, for a young man, charged with high treason. There are many things in those trials known to the public, and some not known to the public, though well worthy of your attention, and of the attention of every jury engaged in the awful question, whether in such a case there has been any treason in the mind or not. The overt act laid against O'Connor was his setting off to go to France, then the enemy of England; but this, though an illegal act, was not an overt act of treason, and therefore the attorney-general of that day, one of the greatest lawyers that any country ever produced, —I mean the late Lord Eldon,—tried hard to connect O'Connor with an undoubtedly treasonable paper that was found in the pocket of one of his companions and fellow-prisoners, the Rev. Mr. Quigley, a Roman Catholic priest. In this the attorney-general completely failed, and the overt acts charged, not being in themselves treason, O'Connor was acquitted. Now, mark well what I am going to tell you, and behold what time brings to light, for you will find that upon this occasion a guilty man was saved, and an innocent man was convicted.

"In less than two years O'Connor, to get out of an Irish prison and save his life,* confessed his treasons in the face of many of the whig nobility and gentlemen of England, who had come forward and declared upon their oaths their confident belief that O'Connor was incapable of entertaining a treasonable intent.

"The poor priest, Quigley, had no Whig party, or any other party, at his back to swear in his favour.

* The above statement is not true.—R. R. M.

He sat unmoved during the whole trial, and, after the disgraceful scene that took place in the court at midnight, the moment after Mr. Justice Buller had finished passing the then horrible sentence of high treason, Quigley sat like a stock through all the confusion, while O'Connor was trying to run out of Court, till he was knocked down at the door by Judge Buller's coachman. Now, Gentlemen, the whole conduct of this Rev. Gentleman had so occupied my attention, that though he was not my client, I was beginning, in my address to the jury, to defend him, when I was stopped by his own counsel and by the court. But not many years ago, my old friend, the late Lord Commissioner of the Jury Court of Scotland, better known by the name of Willy Adam, who was one of the counsel for the crown in these trials, declared to me, that he thought Quigley had not been properly defended, and that if I had been allowed to go on, and had defended him as well as I did my own client, O'Leary, I should have got him off. I could not agree in this high compliment of my good friend, for though the treasonable paper was not in Quigley's hand-writing, and there was no evidence how he came by it, yet it was found in his pocket amongst his most sacred papers—such as his letters of ordination; and I despaired of inducing the jury to believe, that it had been put there by any body but himself.

"Now time proved what was unknown to any body but himself, and which this noble-minded man kept secret till after his conviction. This paper was all a hoax of a Dr. Crossfield, who had himself been tried for high treason. He was the author of the song, 'Plant, plant the tree,' &c. He and Quigley had met at a tavern the night before he set off for France, and there Crossfield wrote this invitation to the French to invade England, and desired Quigley to get it put into the 'Moniteur,' and said, 'it would make William Pitt * * *'

"Thus time has shown that a treasonably guilty man was saved, and an innocent man hanged; for

except this hoax, there has been no evidence that I ever heard of, of the treasonably guilty mind of Quigley to this hour.

(Signed) "A Disciple of J. H. Tooke."

The words following "it would make William Pitt * * *" omitted in the above copy, are tantamont to "put in a fright."

It is possible there may be some truth in the statement about Dr. Crossfield's extraordinary jest, but if the paper was written by him, it was put in Quigley's pocket without his knowledge—if the dying declaration of the man is entitled to any credit, "I declare most solemnly, in the face of my country and my God (the statement of the paper being found in the pocket of his great coat) was false, unless one of them, or some other person unknown to me, put it there."*

On the authority of Arthur O'Connor, that paper was put in the pocket of Quigley by the police. However it got there, it was not in the hand-writing of Quigley, as Dutton swore it to be.

M'Gowan, a Chelsea pensioner, appeared in January 1798, as evidence against John Feris, charged with administering an unlawful oath. On his cross-examination by Mr. Curran, he admitted that he came from Bridewell—that he was there kept in confinement; Mr. Curran asked him, "Pray, who sent you up here?" the witness prevaricated, but being pressed, he answered—"It was Major Sirr who sent me here. The major took me prisoner four or five months ago; I was then brought to the Castle. I told nothing the first day. I was threatened with being brought to a court-martial. I can't tell whether or not they intended to frighten me." Being asked "If he had never been threatened with being hanged in the riding-house, if he did not inform?" his answer was, "Who told you that?" The solicitor-general then took him to task, and he said he was not threatened to be hanged in the riding-house. He said he had

* "Coigley (or Quigley's) Observations on his Trial," &c. Printed in London, 1798, p. 33.

been an United Irishman; he had one of their "constitutions" in his possession; had lent it to Mr. Hepenstal, who returned it to him, and he had lost it." The prisoner was acquitted.

John Hanlon, in 1796, swore against three men at Athy assizes, who were condemned on his evidence on a charge of Defenderism. Immediately after the trial Hanlon lodged sworn informations against twelve men (including John Ratigan) with conspiring to murder him. In the indictment he is described as a soldier of artillery. Hanlon held a subordinate office in the tower, he was one of the persons on the major's permanent list. In 1803 he accompanied the major to a house in the liberty, where information had been received of one of Robert Emmett's principal accomplices, Henry Howley, being concealed. The major with his ordinary prudence, put Hanlon forward to arrest a man known to be of a most determined character, and the result of his discretion was, that Hanlon was shot by Howley, and like unfortunate Ryan, lost his life, and the major in both instances escaped unhurt. His three principal captures were those of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmett, and Thomas Russell. In the latter case he derived his information of Russell's place of concealment from an attorney, Mr. John Swift Emerson, who accompanied him to the house where Russell was then in concealment. This worthy pair subsequently quarrelled about the money offered for Russell's apprehension, each claimed the reward—the sum of £1,500, one portion of which had been offered by government, the rest by the town of Belfast. Emerson wrote a pamphlet, charging Sirr with attempting to defraud him of his just share of this reward. A friend of the major, under the signature of "Timothy Truth Teller," published another in reply to Emerson. The blood-money eventually was divided between them, the larger part of it having been allotted to Major Sirr.

On three occasions the major's life was in imminent peril from the United Irishmen—in May, 1798,

when he was attacked by the body-guard of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, in Watling-street. In September 1798, one Jackson, while under *examination* at the exchange, was seized by Major Sirr in the act of presenting a pistol at his breast.* At the latter part of the same year an attempt was made on the major's life in Capel-street, and was frustrated by Mr. Flannagan, a printer, formerly connected with Carrick's "Morning Advertiser." The major, in one instance, was unconsciously the occasion of saving the life of a fellow-creature, though at the cost of another, which was only sacrificed by mistake in the hurry of his official business. Two persons of the name of Farrell, who had taken an active part with the insurgents at the battle of Vinegar Hill, were apprehended in the vicinity of Dublin. Such evidence as at that period was considered conclusive, was obtained against one of them, Mr. James Farrell, while the courts-martial were sitting. The major went in person to the provost, and ordered the prisoner to be brought forth, the wrong man was brought out—the summary process was gone through—he was executed. Mr. James Farrell was subsequently liberated, went to Spain, and became a partner in the house of Gordon, Murphy, and Co. of Cadiz. After some years, he returned in opulent circumstances to London, and resided there for many years, highly respected, and honoured with the acquaintance even of the brother of his sovereign.

At the time he was at the height of his prosperity, Major Sirr visited London; he went on 'Change, accompanied by the Lord Mayor, and on that occasion Farrell was introduced to the major, and the latter was invited by him to dine at his house. Sirr had little idea, that the merchant from whom he received the invitation was one of the Vinegar-hill men whose fate had been in his hands. The major dined with Mr. James Farrell,—and the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Savory (then of Bond-street) were of that

* See "Dublin Evening Post," 11th September, 1798.

dinner-party. The twenty years that succeeded the rebellion were productive of extraordinary vicissitudes; and the one which brought the Vinegar-hill rebel and Major Sirr in social communion, was not the least singular. If we judge from Sirr's conduct on other similar occasions—had he recognized Farrell, the probability is, he would have felt gratified, and expressed his gratification, at the fortunate escape of the intended victim. The major's acts, in 1798, were all in the way of business, in the promotion of his own interests—his real zeal for those of his employers is very questionable. One of the delegates, who had been arrested at Bond's—a ship-owner of the name of Trenor—escaped from the charge of Sirr and Sandys in the Castle, and succeeded in getting out of the country. Many years subsequently, Trenor was permitted to visit Ireland; he had an interview with Sirr, and was treated by him with the utmost civility, and congratulated on his happy escape. Trenor was then a man well to do in the world, and he is still living in comfortable circumstances in America, to which country he again returned. Sandys, one of his former gaolers, was not living when he visited Ireland; he had died in 1812, at Lucan, near Dublin, in abject poverty, an object of pity even to those to whom he had formerly been one of terror.

Sirr was more prosperous in his worldly affairs, and more prudent in his conduct:—in 1808, he was appointed one of the police magistrates in the city; and, when a new army regulation made it necessary that the post of town-major should be filled by a military officer, he retired from the public service, with the signal honour of a letter of approbation from the Duke of York, written by his Royal Highness. Neither Abercrombie nor Moore could boast of any similar distinctions, for their services in Ireland—they were reserved for those of Henry Charles Sirr.

When the Whigs came into power, the major felt it to be the duty of a loyal subject, to shape his po-

litics to those of the existing government. When reform began to be talked of at the Castle, by gentlemen in office, and it had ceased to be the custom to consider all reformers traitors, the major became a reformer—and was one of those who attended a public meeting in Dublin, on the occasion of the successful issue of the last French revolution, and in approval of the principles then triumphant.

When Catholic emancipation had made Mr. O'Connell eligible as a candidate for the representation of Dublin, and there was nothing to be got or gained by supporting the ascendancy—or lost, by disobliging the decrepid corporation—the major voted for Mr. O'Connell.

Five-and-thirty years had intervened between the pillage of one Catholic leader's house, and the lodging of its owner in Newgate—and the giving of his vote to send another to the imperial parliament.*

The latter years of Major Sirr were spent in collecting curiosities, books and pictures. He became an amateur, and, in his own opinion, a connoisseur, of works of art and "virtu." The disposal of his effects, however, at his decease, shewed how few claims he had to the latter title. He frequently attended the book-auctions at the sale-room of Mr. Sharpe, of Anglesea-street; and not very long before his death, he entered the sale-room just as Mr. Moore's work, "The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," was put up for sale. The major's appearance, at the moment of the casual announcement of that work, caused the bidding to go on briskly—and, among the bidders, passing comments on the merits of the work were not wanting. The major, on that occasion, made no addition to his library, nor was his stay at the auction-room of long duration.

* The house of Mr. Thomas Braughall, of Eccles-street, one of the leading members of the Catholic committee, was ransacked by the Major in 1798, and property to a considerable amount was destroyed and plundered. Braughall was then about 70 years of age, a prisoner in Newgate.

The ruling passion of domineering over the humbler classes, he indulged in to the last—or at least endeavoured so to do—in the exercise of his magisterial authority; but the terror of his influence had passed away, with the decline of the super-legal power which was associated in men's minds with the name and exploits of Major Sirr, in the good old times of 1798. He died on the 11th of January, 1841, and was interred on the 14th, in Werburgh-street churchyard, the burial-place of his family. A broken tombstone over his remains, and those of his father and brother-in-law, bears the following inscription :—

"The place of burial
Of MAJOR SIRR and HUMPHREY MINCHIN,
1790."

In the same place of interment, in one of the vaults of Werburgh's-church, the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are deposited, immediately under the chancel. There are two leaden coffins here, laid side by side; the shorter of the two is that which contains the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The upper part of the leaden coffin, in many places, has become decayed, and encrusted with a white powder—and, in such places, the woollen cloth that lines the inner part of the coffin is visible, and still remains in a perfect state.

The entrance to the vault where the remains of Lord Edward Fitzgerald are interred, is within a few paces of the grave of Charles Edward Sirr, by whose hand the former perished. The desperate struggle which took place between them, the one survived fifteen days, the other forty-three years. Few who visit the place where they are interred, will recall the history of both, without lamenting the errors which proved fatal to the life of Fitzgerald, and deploring the evils of the calamitous times, which called the services of such a man as Sirr into action.

No. XIV.

ITEMS EXTRACTED FROM "ACCOUNT OF SECRET SERVICE MONEY APPLIED IN DETECTING TREASONABLE CONSPIRACIES, PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE CIVIL LIST ACT OF 1793."

From the 21st of August, 1797, to Sept. 30, 1801	£38,419	8	0
And from Sept. 30, 1801, to March 28, 1804	15,128	5	1
	£53,547	13	1

The Account up to Sept. "per affidavit of Mr. Cooke."

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug. 21.	E. Cooke, Esq. for M. .	50	0	0
" 22.	Newell	11	7	6
" "	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon	20	0	0
Sept. 1.	Mr. Cooke for M. . .	10	0	0
" "	Kerr's wife 1 guinea; Grey 1 guinea; Mitchell 1 guinea, and Mr. Cooke for Magowan	4	11	0
" 2.	Mr. Cooke for Darcy Mahon	20	0	0
" 7.	Diet and lodging bill for Mr. Smith and wife . .	77	17	10
" 11.	Sir G. F. Hill . . .	100	0	0
" 12.	Mr. Cooke for M. . .	100	0	0
" 16.	Jus. Bell in search of offenders by Sirr	45	10	0
" "	Dawes for Bird . . .	20	0	0
" 26.	Mr. Cooke for M. . .	200	0	0

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 29.	Watkins for diet of Messrs. Newell, Murdock, Lowry, Hayes, Kane, Harper, Shaw, O'Brien, M'Dermott, Kavanagh, Sandys . . .	228	9	11½
" 30.	Sent to Newell, by post .	10	0	0
Oct. 5.	Mr. Cooke for Magowan .	4	11	0
" 13.	Mary Gamble for 13 weeks' lodging for Newell and Murdock	6	16	6
" 5.	Ditto for Boyle . . .	10	4	9
" 23.	John Coghlan of Clonard .	20	0	0
" 19.	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Verner .	22	15	0
" 23.	Mrs. Dawes for O'Brien's clothes	4	18	9½
" "	Keeper of Bridewell for Bell Martin's diet, 21 weeks .	12	16	10
" 31.	Dawes, to send Smith to bring him to town . . .	11	7	6
Nov. 3.	Bell Martin, to take her out of town	5	13	9
" 4.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Carhampton . . .	11	7	6
" 6.	Allowance to 13 men in the Tower for one week, 10 at one guinea, and 3 at half-a-guinea, per Major Sirr .	14	15	9
" 9.	Lowry 3 gs., Newell 3 gs., and Newell again, to go out of town	18	4	0
" 10.	J. Pollock, per Rt. . .	100	0	0
" 15.	Ditto	50	0	0
" 22.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholls .	10	0	0
" 23.	Serj. Dunn of the Invalids, going with Grey to Derry .	3	8	3
" "	J. Pollock, Esq. . . .	25	3	9
" 27.	Capt. A. M'Nevin . .	150	0	0
" 28.	Mr. Cooke for M'Carry .	50	0	0
" 29.	J. Pollock, Esq. . . .	20	0	0
" "	Subsistence of 13 men in the Tower	14	15	9

1797.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov. 30.	Smith	5	13	9
Dec. 8.	A. Worthington, balance of account, in advance . .	45	10	0
" 11.	J. Pollock, Esq. . . .	300	0	0
" 12.	O'Brien for a great coat; Grey, Mitchell and Wheatley one guinea each; Lindsey 2 gs.	5	13	9
" "	Cooke, to send to Newell .	20	0	0
" 13.	Patrickson for diet and lodging of Smith and wife in the Co. Wicklow . . .	9	2	0
" 14.	W. B. Swan in search of offenders	20	0	0
" 15.	Mr. Darcy Mahon . .	50	0	0
" 18.	Smith.	10	0	0
" "	Mr. Cooke for F——y. .	11	7	6
" 19.	R. Marshall by direction of Mr. Pelham . . .	159	5	0
" 20.	Joseph Nugent, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	5	13	9
" "	Smith for clothes . .	20	0	0
" 21.	Col. Longfield for soldiers of the Cork Militia . .	127	8	0
" 22.	Wm. Morriss for 15 days' lodging of Smith and wife, to 21st Dec. . . .	14	9	3
" 23.	Mr. Collins, sent to him in London	108	0	0
" "	W. Atkinson of Belfast, expenses and allowance for going to England in search of Magee	65	0	0
" "	Earl Carhampton for Ferris .	200	0	0
	(Ferris to have £100 per annum from Dec.)			
" 29.	Ben. Eves, of Blessington, what he advanced to Johnston, alias Smith . .	14	4	4½
1798.				
Jan. 1.	Lindsay of the Fifeshire Fencibles, returning to Glasgow	20	0	0

1798.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan.	4.	Capt. Coulson . . .	30	0	0
"	"	Serj. Chapman & John Connell	9	2	0
"	5.	Lord Enniskillen, for Capt. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Pelham . . .	100	0	0
"	8.	Serjeant Dennis M'Gawley of the Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton.	22	15	0
"	"	Mr. Marshall, by desire of Mr. Pelham . . .	113	15	0
"	13.	Mr. Dutton . . .	68	5	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Higgins .	100	0	0
"	18.	Mr. Cooke for Jus. Bell .	50	0	0
"	20.	Wheatley, Mitchell, Grey, Chapman, Baynsham, and Travers, 1 guinea each .	6	16	6
"	"	Mr. Smith	10	0	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell .	40	13	9
"	22.	Major Sirr for Bourke .	5	13	9
"	23.	Wheatley, to take him home.	20	0	0
"	25.	Mr. Cooke for Corbett .	20	0	0
"	27.	Major Sirr for M'Cann .	5	13	9
"	29.	Mr. Cooke for Warren .	2	5	6
Feb.	2.	The Hon. C. Sheffington, what he paid Newell . . .	22	15	0
"	"	Mr. Cooke for Mr. Bell .	40	13	9
"	"	Mr. O'Bri— from the North	13	13	0
"	9.	Mr. Cooke for B. . .	10	0	0
"	16.	Newell, on going to England	56	17	6
"	24.	Mr. Pollock for I. W. H. .	56	17	6
"	29.	Mr. Cooke (Mr. Cope) .	341	5	5½
Mar.	6.	Rev. Mr. Vignolles by direction of Mr. Pelham . .	6	16	6
"	8.	Mr. Dawes for Joyce's clothes	4	15	2½
"	13.	Wm. Logan, police constable, on going into the country .	22	15	0
"	14.	Mr. Philip Gahan, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	1	2	9
"	15.	Serj. Chapman, to send his wife to Cork and bring her back	11	7	6

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 16.	Mr. Swan, expenses of coach and guards, &c. at Mr. Bond's	23	13	6
" "	Mr. George Murdock, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	150	0	0
" 20.	Lowry, by direction of Mr. Cooke, on Lord Castlereagh's letter	5	13	9
" "	The two Joyces, to take them home	11	7	6
" 21.	Mr. Lee's 220 gs., by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	250	5	0
" 22.	Major Sirr, for Brennan, by direction of Mr. Cooke .	22	15	0
" 26.	J. Welsh, expenses of bringing Kelsher and Wilson from Cork. . . .	34	2	6
" 27.	Mr. Godfrey's expense of coach-hire to Arklow .	3	19	1
" 28.	Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
" "	Chapman, to buy clothes on his going back to Cork .	3	8	3
" 29.	Mr. Lindsay, for Mr. Bell .	20	0	0
" "	Mr. Cooke, for Mr. Swann .	100	0	0
" 28.	Major Sirr, for Lennan and his two sons, who attended at Roscommon . . .	5	13	9
" 30.	Travers, to buy clothes on his going to Trim . . .	4	11	0
" 31.	Major Sirr, for Brennan .	22	15	0
Apr. 2.	Lord Enniskillen, for Capt. Henry St. George Cole .	160	0	0
" 3.	Mr. Cooke, *(qy. Mr. Verner)*	11	7	6
" 6.	Ditto, per his note . .	100	0	0
" 7.	Major Sirr, for Doran, M'Allister and Magrath, expenses coming home from the assizes	10	4	9
" 7.	Oliver Carleton, on going to Mr. O'Connor's trial in England	115	0	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Apr. 11.	Sir George Hill, for a man going to ditto . . .	11	7	6
" "	Mr. Dutton, going to England to attend Quigley's trial	34	11	0
" 20.	J. Armit, (account of Oliver Carleton) for expenses of a man sent by Sir G. Hill, to attend Quigley's trial .	22	15	0
" 21.	Major Bruce, for soldiers of the Cork militia, looking for Trenor	1	2	9
" 23.	Mr. Brownlow, going to Whitehaven, for Sampson .	11	7	6
" 27.	Darcy Mahon . . .	100	0	0
" "	J. Pollock, on going to England	110	0	0
May 3.	George Hobbs, by desire of Mr. Rochfort, of Co. Carlow	20	0	0
" "	Major Sirr, for Bourke's widow 3 gs. Edward Joyce 1 g. .	4	4	0
" "	Grey for clothes and lodging, by Mr. Cooke's desire .	4	11	0
" "	Lowry, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . . .	2	5	6
" "	Lord Carhampton's bill to Mr. Luttrell, on account of James Ferris, to 1st of May	54	3	4
" 12.	Hon. R. Annesley, per Mr. Swan	50	0	0
" "	Mr. Medlicott, by desire of Mr. Cooke . . .	5	13	9
" "	Major Sirr, for Brennan .	11	7	6
" 14.	Councellor Townsend, what he advanced in Cork, to 2 persons to attend O'Connor's trial	34	2	6
" 19.	Lowry, to buy clothes, and in full by Mr. Cooke's desire .	5	13	9
" 24.	Bill remitted to Wright, alias Lawler	32	17	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
May 31.	C. Brennan . . .	22	15	0
" "	Mr. William Edgar, by Mr. Cooke's desire . . .	100	0	0
June 6.	Mr. Jennings . . .	50	0	0
" 12.	Mr. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . .	50	0	0
" 13.	Mr. Swan, by Mr. Cooke's desire	100	0	0
" "	Mr. Dennis, for Mr. Ryan's widow, by ditto . .	100	0	0
" 15.	J. Pollock, Esq. bill from London	109	7	6
" 20.	F. H. Discovery of L. E. F.	1000	0	0
" "	Mr. Sproule . . .	50	0	0
" 21.	Mr. Stewart, Surgeon-general, for attendance on Lord Ed. Fitzgerald, viz. Mr. Garnett, who sat in the room, £22 15; Mr. Kinsley, for attending him in a delirium, £4 11s.; Surgeon Leake 16 days, £2, attendance twice a day .	47	6	0
" 30.	Fred. Trench, for Bergan .	50	0	0
July 4.	J. C. Beresford . . .	50	0	0
" "	T. M'Donnell, for 8 horses, with Dr. Esmond and from Naas 8th June . . .	4	6	8
" "	Ensign Murray, York regiment, expenses of bringing priest Martin from Rathdrum	5	13	9
" 19.	Major Sandys, on account of prisoners in the provost .	100	0	0
" "	Earl Enniskillen for Capt. Henry St. George Cole .	37	10	0
" 25.	Major Sandys, on further account of prisoners in the provost	200	0	0
" 26.	Major Sirr, for pistols, for Mr. Reynolds . . .	9	2	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 26.	T. Collins, bill for London .	54	17	6
" 30.	Mitchell, to pay his rent and buy clothes . . .	5	13	9
" 31.	Mr. Sproule . . .	30	0	0
Aug. 7.	Major Sirr, for Serj. M'Dowall, of the Dumbarton Fencibles	11	7	6
" 16.	J. Magin, per rect. . .	700	0	0
" 17.	Ditto	56	17	6
" "	Chaise and horses, with Sir T. Esmond and Capt. Doyle, from Bray, and returning with the officers who guarded them	2	3	4
" 18.	O'Brien for 8 men, at one guinea, and 3 men at half-a-guinea	10	16	1½
" "	Major Sirr, expenses of Conolly from Drogeda to Belfast, in July, and Conolly and Martin from Drogeda to Dublin, in August .	6	18	8
" "	J. Pollock, Esq. bill to F. Carleton, Esq. dated Newry	56	17	6
"	Serjt. Lodwick Hamilton, Roscommon Militia, by desire of Lord Carhampton for attendance at Assizes to prosecute	22	15	0
" 27.	Mr. Taggert from Newtownards, by desire Lord Castlereagh	10	0	0
" 28.	Mr. Sproule . . .	50	0	0
" "	Cahill and Charles M'Fillan, per Mr. Mander's note .	4	11	6
" "	Mr. Pollock's bill, date, Belfast	56	17	6
Sept. 6.	Charles M'Fillan . .	20	0	0
" 7.	Mr. Taggert and three others, for attending Secret Committee Co. D. . . .	54	11	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sept. 12.	Major Sandys, for subsistence of prisoners in the barracks	58	16	8
" 14.	Lieut. Atkinson of the Louth Militia, expenses of bringing La Roche and Teeling, French officers, to Dublin .	16	14	10
" "	Mr. Pollock's bills, Belfast .	56	17	6
" "	Major Sandy's subsistence of prisoners	100	0	0
" 22.	Mr. Sproule . . .	24	14	7
" 24.	Mr. Cooke	10	0	0
" 26.	Mr. Ellis, from Enniskillen, for his expenses . .	20	0	0
" 29.	Mr. Thomas Reynolds .	1000	0	0
Oct. 9.	F. Dutton, by desire of Lord Castlereagh . . .	50	0	0
" 19.	Mr. Sproule . . .	20	0	0
" 22.	Subsistence at Cork of the Hills, witnesses for the crown	74	4	9
" "	Thomas Collin's bill from London	54	3	4
" 24.	Mr. Tucker of King's End, for M'Carry . . .	20	0	0
" 27.	Mr. O'Brien for ten men—Grey, Mitchell, Travers, O'Neil, Bourke, Chambers, and Lindsay . . .	21	0	10½
Nov. 12.	Major Thackerry, his expenses from Derry with T. W. Tone . . .	28	8	9
" 16.	Mr. T. Reynolds . .	2000	0	0
" 17.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half year . .	54	3	4
" 20.	Bill remitted to Wright, alias Lawler	32	14	0
" "	Mr. Nugent to take him back to England . . .	5	13	9
" 24.	Rt. Hon. D. Browne for Flattelly, who prosecuted F. French, esq., at Castlebar, for high treason . .	100	0	0

1798.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov. 29.	Bryan Lennan, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . .	30	0	0
Dec. 8.	E. Cooke, esq. . . .	500	0	0
" 15.	For informer respecting O'Neil, Major Sirr . .	11	7	6
" "	Mr. John Mahon, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	200	0	0
" "	Wm. Plunkett for attending courts martial at Castlebar.	227	10	0
" 31.	Major Sirr for six men as Christmas boxes. . .	6	16	6
" "	Mr. Pollock for two persons, £50 each . . .	100	0	0
1799.				
Jan. 1.	Major Sirr	500	0	0
" 5.	Thomas Lennan to take him to England, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . .	12	0	0
" 12.	Grey, Mitchell, Bourke, O'Neil, Lindsay, and Chambers	7	19	3
" 18.	W. B. Swan, per Mr. Coke's order	100	0	0
" 19.	Mr. T. Reynolds, per receipt	1000	0	0
" 23.	J. Pollock, esq. . . .	1137	10	0
" 24.	Rev. George Lambert, per Mr. Cooke's note . .	300	0	0
" 26.	Mr. Collin's bill, dated London	55	5	0
Feb. 9.	Mr. Cooke for N. . .	22	15	0
" "	O'Brien, expenses for three men to Bray, two days' coach hire . . .	1	19	0
" 12.	Sir J. Blaquiere for Leonard Cornwall	22	15	0
" 15.	Serjeant Daley, per Mr. Cooke's note . . .	10	0	0
" 16.	J. Pollock for T. W. £150, G. M. £50 . . .	200	0	0
" 20.	Earl of Enniskillen, for Capt. H. St. George Cole . .	75	0	0

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 22.	Major Sirr for O'Kean, to take him away . . .	10	0	0
" 23.	Mr. Crofton for three men of Mohill, Co. Leitrim . .	34	2	6
Mar. 4.	Mr. Reynolds, to complete £5000, viz.: September 29, £1000; Nov. 16, £2000; and January 19, £1000 .	1000	0	0
" 2.	Thomas Jones Atkins, per Mr. Marsden's note . .	113	15	0
" 5.	J. Pollock for M'G. sent by post to Belfast . . .	60	0	0
" 6.	Doctor Harding, for the Hills' subsistence at Cork . .	18	4	0
" 12.	Colonel Jackson for Mr. Moran, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . . .	100	0	0
" 15.	Marquis of Waterford for Dr. Hearn	70	0	0
" 16.	Lord Boyle, by direction of Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
" 19.	Oliver Carleton, esq. for Shea, who was to prosecute pike-makers	20	0	0
" 25.	Mr. Marshall for Fred. Dutton, per bill on Harriss, London.	550	0	0
April 18.	Mr. Pollock for receipt .	50	0	0
" 20.	Rt. Hon. Dennis Brown for Michael Geraghty . .	50	0	0
" 25.	Sir John Carden for Brown and Cahill	100	0	0
" 27.	Thomas Collins, bill dated London	55	10	0
May 1.	Thomas Kearney, recommended by Sir J. Parnell, from Queen's County .	56	17	6
" 3.	J. Pollock, esq., for G. M. I.	50	0	0
" 4.	R. Cornwall, esq. amount advanced by him last year to Kelly and Nowlan for information, as per account .	73	18	9

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
May 8.	Mr. Cooke on advance .	400	0	0
" "	Bill remitted to Wright, alias Lawler, at Bath . .	54	17	6
" 9.	Henry St. George Cole, per Lord Enniskillen, 1 quarter	37	10	0
" 13.	Cummins, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	5	13	9
" 20.	Mr. Marshall for what he paid in London by Lord Castlereagh's direction to Dutton, 50 gs., to R. Jennings, £50 . . .	111	0	10
" "	Mr. Cooke for K. . .	50	0	0
" "	Mr. Richard Jennings of London, per Mr. Robert Norman	200	0	0
" 24.	Mr. Darcy Mahon, per Cooke's desire	100	0	0
" 27.	Mr. Sproule, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	28	8	9
" "	Alexander Worthington .	50	0	0
June 3.	Support of the Hills, of Cork, to Dr. Harding . . .	27	6	3
" 4.	Mrs. Carey, in full discharge of Mr. Carey's demands .	100	0	0
" 5.	Mr. Pollock, acct. of G. M. I.	50	0	0
" 14.	Mr. Reynolds, in full to 25th March	1000	0	0
" "	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris, half a year . . .	54	3	9
" 18.	Earl of Altamont, by direction of Lord Castlereagh, for Jennings and Conmee, two priests, £50 each, Raffarell £20, Clerk £11 7s. 6d., and sheriff of County Mayo £53 3s. 6d. . . .	184	11	0
" 19.	Mr. Darcy Mahon for B., by Mr. Cooke's order . .	100	0	0
" 28.	T. Collins, bill dated London	55	10	0
July 8.	Mr. Cooke for Nicholson .	20	0	0

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 9.	Ross Mahon for the discovery of the Hardimans . .	68	5	0
" 17.	T. Collins, bill dated London	55	10	0
" 24.	Major Sirr for Hugh M'Laughlin . . .	22	15	0
" 25.	J. Lindsay to take him home, and in full of all demands .	100	0	0
" "	Hugh M'Laughlin, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	20	0	0
" "	Harper, to take to Mr. Prices, Saintfield, Co. Down	11	7	6
Aug. 3.	Mr. Pollock, for G. M. I. .	100	0	0
" 23.	Thomas Collin's bill . .	55	15	0
" 30.	Henry St. George Cole, by Lord Enniskillen . .	37	10	0
" 30.	Expenses of bringing J. Townley and William Wallace to Co. Down, to prosecute rebels . . .	28	6	1
Oct. 1.	M'Gucken, Belfast, per post, by direction of Mr. Cooke	50	0	0
" 19.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq. high sheriff, Co. Waterford, expenses, apprehending and convicting rebels, per Col. Uniacke	100	0	0
" 22.	Sir G. F. Hill, for M'Fillan, Murphy, Honiton, & Birch	460	0	0
" "	Sir C. Asgill, for Anglen, a priest	50	0	0
Nov. 5.	Thomas Collins' bill, dated Gosport	56	2	6
" 6.	Gerraghty, per Gustave Rochefort . . .	100	0	0
" 9.	Major Sirr, for discovery of attempt to break the New Gaol	22	15	0
" "	Mr. Marsden, to remit to — an English bank note, for £50	56	0	0

1799.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 5.	Henry St. George Cole, Esq. one quarter . . .	37	10	0
" 13.	Mr. Cooke . . .	50	0	0
" 14.	Hanlon, for 16 men at one guinea, and four at half-a-guinea each . . .	20	9	6
" 19.	James Flannigan, by order of the lord-lieutenant .	20	0	0
" 21.	Major Sirr, for the person who discovered Bermingham .	17	1	3
" 27.	Serjeant John Lee, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	100	0	0
" 28.	Hanlon (and his twenty men as before)	20	9	6
1800.				
Jan. 3.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	5	13	9
" "	O'Brien, amount paid him for coach hire with prisoners, per account, vouched by Major Sirr . . .	19	4	0
" 7.	Mr. Cooke, for K. . .	50	0	0
" 19.	H. St. George Cole, by direction of Mr. Cooke . .	200	0	0
" "	Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
" 21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken .	100	0	0
" 27.	Colonel Uniacke, for prosecutors, Co. Waterford . .	200	0	0
" 31.	Henry St. George Cole .	37	10	0
Feb. 7.	Lord Carhampton, bill for Ferris's allowance, half-year	54	3	4
" 9.	Mr. Cooke, for Fitzgerald .	250	0	0
" 24.	Colonel Fitzgerald, of North Cork Militia, for the mother of Serjeant Moore, killed in taking a rebel . . .	25	0	0
" 27.	Mr. Cooke, for M. N. .	100	0	0
Mar. 6.	J. Baker, Col. Uniacke's note	100	0	0
" 14.	Capt. W. Harris, of the Killeshandra cavalry, expenses of bringing up Matthew Tone, September 1798 .	20	6	3

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 14.	Watkins, for Mr. Dease and Mr. Waldron's diet and lodging, December and January, to the 24th February	105	18	5
" 18.	Mr. Archer, high sheriff, Co. Wicklow	100	0	0
" 21.	J. Pollock, for T. W. . .	200	0	0
April 1.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
" 3.	Coleman, per letter from E. D. Wilson, Esq. . .	11	7	6
" 3.	Clothes for Coleman and Burns, in the Tower, per Major Sirr . . .	3	9	1
" "	Mr. Thomas Collins's bill, dated Dominica . .	55	17	6
" 16.	Sir Richard Musgrave, for Michael Burke, to take him to England . . .	5	13	9
" "	Ditto for ditto, 13 weeks allowance in advance, from 12th April . . .	14	15	9
" 19.	Hon. W. W. Pole, for informers, Queen's Co. . .	100	0	0
" 21.	Mr. Ram, for Serjeant Tuttle, who prosecuted Wexford rebels . . .	22	15	0
May 2.	Lord Rossmore, for the widow Portland, whose house at Newtown Mt. Kennedy, was destroyed by the officer commanding when the rebels attacked the town . .	10	0	0
" 2.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
" 5.	Henry St. George Cole, by Colonel Uniacke . .	200	0	0
" 22.	Andrew M'Nevin, by post to Carrickfergus . . .	300	0	0
" 23.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	10	0	0
June 11.	M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden	50	0	0

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June 11.	Coleman	11	7	6
" 17.	Col. Jones, Leitrim Militia, expenses of executing Dunn and Cottin, two rebels at Naas and Ballymore Eustace, December 1799 .	10	0	0
" "	Earl Carhampton, for Ferris, half a year . . .	54	3	4
July 1.	Bryan Lennon, in full and positive discharge of all demands . . .	11	7	6
" 16.	Alexander M'Donnell, per Mr. Marsden . . .	150	0	0
" 17.	Major Sirr, for Edward Boyle, Michael Fagan, Michael Higgins, Daniel Gore, Jas. Murphy, John Kearney, 30 gs. each, in full discharge of their claims for service .	204	15	0
" 21.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G. .	100	0	0
" 23.	Dr. Harding, from Cork, by desire of Lord Castlereagh	500	0	0
" 24.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W. .	100	0	0
" 26.	Isaac Heron, a young man taken up and confined in the tower instead of another person, who dropped a paper in England, signed Colclough	11	7	6
Aug. 2.	Major Sirr, to take men to Hacketstown . . .	22	15	0
" 4.	R. Harper, to take him to the assizes, Co. Down, and back	17	1	3
" 7.	H. St. George Cole . .	37	10	0
" 18.	James Edward Hill, from Cork	5	13	9
" 27.	Major Sirr, per Mr. Trevor, for ——— . . .	56	17	6
Sept. 11.	Magan, per Mr. Higgins .	300	0	0
Oct. 1.	Mr. Marsden, for Murphy, who was sent from London	20	0	0

1800.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 13.	Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
" 14.	Captain Fitzgerald, per Mr. Cooke	100	0	0
" 18.	Murphy from London, by desire of Mr. Marsden .	11	7	6
" 23.	Murphy, to return to London	22	15	0
" 24.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	20	0	0
" "	Henry Laverty, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's desire	5	13	9
Nov. 2.	N. per Mr. Cooke's note .	30	0	0
" 7.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter to October . .	37	10	0
" 14.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris half a year . . .	54	3	4
" "	Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
" 18.	Neville, for Ann Lewis £300, for W. Pollen £200, per receipt	500	0	0
Dec. 3.	George Clibborn, per receipt	500	0	0
" 24.	W. Wright, remitted to him per his letter . . .	54	15	0
1801.				
Jan. 1.	M'Gucken, per post to Belfast	100	0	0
" "	A. M'Nevin, Carrickfergus, per his letter . . .	140	10	0
" "	Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
" 5.	Major Swan . . .	113	15	0
Feb. 1.	Mr. Dudley Hill, of Carlow, expenses incurred under the order of Sir Charles Asgill, in 1798	55	17	2
" 5.	Wheatley, in full of all demands	115	2	9
" 12.	Manders, washing for Hughes and Coulan . . .	11	7	6
" 13.	Mr. Cooke, for N. . .	20	0	0
Mar. 2.	To bury Chambers . .	5	13	9
" 10.	Major Sirr, for Nowlan, who prosecuted at Dundalk .	17	1	3

1801.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
May 12.	Mr. Whitley, by direction of Mr. Cooke . . .	40	19	0
" 14.	Haughton, to release his clothes to go to Trim assizes	5	13	9
" 16.	Hayden, a woman who gave information of the murderers of Col. St. George .	20	0	0
" 21.	Major Sirr, maintenance, &c. of James O'Brien in goal .	21	2	6
" "	Mr. Cooke, for F. . .	200	0	0
Apr. 27.	Mr. Archer, late Sheriff, Co. Wicklow	70	0	0
" 30.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
May 5.	Henry St. George Cole, per Col. Uniacke . . .	200	0	0
" 20.	Lord Carhampton, draft for Ferris	54	3	4
" 28.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, R. C. Priest, of Cork, at Mallow . .	100	0	0
June 1.	Lord Tyrawley for Rev. Chas. Doran, R. C. Priest, at Monstereven, instead of a warrant of concordatum for the last year . . .	20	0	0
" 9.	Mr. Marsden, for Cody .	200	0	0
" 16.	Mr. Pollock, for T. W. repaid from pension . . .			
July 8.	James Corran, from Portaferry, by Lord Castlereagh's recommendation . .	20	0	0
" "	To Chapman in Cork for 1 year and 11 weeks, at one guinea, per Mr. Turner .	71	13	3
" 25.	Mr. Cooke, for K. . .	100	0	0
" 27.	J. Bell, by direction of Mr. Cooke	200	0	0
Aug. 8.	Mr. Pollock, for Stockdale .	5	13	9
" 10.	Mr. Marshall, what he paid for the Beauties of the "Press"	1	2	9

1801.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Aug. 20.	W. Corbett, by directions of Mr. Cooke	358	10	0
" 21.	Edward Lennan, to take him out of town, per Mr. Trevor	3	8	3
" 27.	Henry St. Geo. Cole, 1 quarter	37	10	0
Sept. 16.	Dr. Macartney of Antrim, for candles and firing for a guard in 1796	1	13	0
"	Lord Longueiville for the Rev. Mich. Barry, priest at Middleton	100	0	0
" "	Thos. King, Esq. of Rathdrum, by order of Lord Cornwallis	300	0	0
" 30.	Mr. Cooke, what he gave to Whelan in London . .	21	13	4
Total amount applied according to Act of Parliament, from 20th Aug. 1797, *to* 30*th Sept.* 1801, *per affidavit of Edw. Cooke, Esq. lodged in the Treasury,*		£38,419	8	0

Oct. 10.	Bryan O'Reilly, of Lord —— yeomanry, who apprehended Wm. Maroney, by Sir C. Asgill's letter	56	17	6
" 19.	Hanlon, to bury E. Lennan	1	2	9
" 30.	J. Keogh, per receipt . .	100	0	0
" "	To the Cushmore corps, for apprehending rebels and robbers, by R. Power, Sheriff, Co. Waterford	91	0	0
Nov. 7.	Hon. Dennis Brown, for informer against Rt. Jordan	102	7	6
" 18.	Henry St. George Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
" 25.	Lord Carhampton's bill for James Ferris half-a-year .	54	3	4

1801.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 5.	W. Wright (alias Lawler) per bill remitted to him in London	55	5	0
" 9.	Campbell for the use of his rooms in the Castle, for Conlan, Hughes, &c. since June, 1798.	22	15	0
" 12.	Richard Campsie, in full of all his claims, by desire of Mr. Abbott . . .	56	17	6
" 31.	Major Sirr, to discharge 2 men on his list who were employed in the Co. at 1g. each	56	17	6
1802.				
Jan. 28.	Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
Feb. 6.	Bryan Ford, who came from Lord Harburton, in full of all claims	68	5	0
" "	John Hughes, ditto . .	200	0	0
" 8.	John Cranny, of Athy, ditto.	34	2	6
" 10.	Henry St. George Cole .	37	10	0
" 11.	Mitchell in full of his claims on Government. . .	100	0	0
" "	Capt. Graham, what he advanced to Henry O'Hara, of Antrim, per Dr. Macartney's letter . . .	57	17	6
" "	H. B. Cody. . . .	100	0	0
" 13.	Mr. Cassidy, for the Rev. Mr. Doran, of Monstereven, recommended by Lord Tyrawley	50	0	0
" "	Coleman from Carrickfergus	5	13	9
" "	Major Sirr, for John Beckett, Mrs. Lennan, Mrs. Dunn, C. M'Gauran, John Kearney, and Dan Cart—, in full of their claims on government	328	8	9

1802.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 20.	J. M'Gucken, to replace £100 advanced to him 16th May, 1801, but afterwards stopped out of his pension . .	100	0	0
" "	Mr. W. Corbett, per agreement, by Mr. Pollock, relative to Stockdale . .	100	0	0
" "	Campbell, for lodging of Hughes and Conlan . .	22	15	0
" "	Worthington, for account of Boyle	50	0	0
" "	Major Sir, for Mrs. O'Brien, John Neill, Francis Devlin, John Coughlan, and T. H. Jackson, in full of their claims	300	0	0
" 25.	Sir Richard Musgrove, for Michael Burke, in full of his claims	113	15	0
" "	Marquis Waterford for Sub-Sheriff, and expenses of the Sheriff of the Co. . .	162	0	0
Mar. 27.	Earl of Shannon, for the Rev. Mr. Barry, parish priest of Mallow	100	0	0
Apr. 3.	Lord Mayor, for R. Lowther	22	15	0
" 8.	J. C. Beresford, Esq. amount of an account of money expended for government, between 1798 and 1802 .	470	11	8½
" 27.	Richard Grandy . .	100	0	0
June 2.	Coleman, in full of claims for his services (appointed tide-waiter	34	2	6
" "	H. St. Geo. Cole, one quarter	37	10	0
" 14.	Bridget Dolan, per Capt. Wainwright, Co. Wicklow	22	15	0
" 24.	Thomas Little, of Court Duff, Co. Kildare, for exertions in bringing offenders to justice	100	0	0

1802.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
July 7.	Capt. Pendergast, Tipperary Militia, expenses on actions against him, for proceedings,—rebels . .	34	2	6
" 14.	J. Kelly, from Carlow, in full of his claims (made a gauger)	113	15	0
" "	James Corran, of Portaferry, an annual allowance, engaged to him by Lord Castlereagh	20	0	0
" 19.	Earl Carhampton's draft for Ferris	54	3	4
" 23.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
" 30.	James Edwin Hill, Philip Hill, John Hill, and Mary Hill, widow of William Hill, in full, for their claims for services at Cork during the rebellion (£100 each) .	400	0	0
Oct. 20.	E. O'Neill, in full of all claims (made a gauger) .	113	15	0
" 26.	Lord Carhampton, for Ferris	54	3	4
Dec. 13.	Mr. Oliver, member for co. Limerick, per Mr. Marsden	34	2	6
" 14.	Mr. Flint	21	14	0½
" 15.	Francis Magan, by direction of Mr. Orpen . . .	500	0	0
" 16.	Mr. Worthington, for Boyle, in full of all claims . .	200	0	0
" 18.	Mr. Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill on London . . .	55	7	6
" 20.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
" 23.	John Coulan, in full of all claims	315	0	0
1803.				
Feb. 2.	Mr. John Stockdale, of London, for printing Sheares' trial, 1798, by direction of Lord Castlereagh . .	46	11	0½

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Feb. 7.	Richard Grandy, per Loftus Tottenham . . .	50	0	0
" 10.	Justice Drury . . .	100	0	0
" 12.	Mr. Pollock, for M'Gucken, an extra allowance . .	50	0	0
" "	William Corbett (telegraph) by Mr. Marsden's directions	34	2	6
" 16.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
" "	Mr. Marsden, for T. W. .	100	0	0
" 19.	Major Sirr, for Carroll .	5	13	9
Mar. 28.	Capt. Bruce, to remit to Londonderry, for two years' allowance to Thos. Townley, £30; James Gordon, £20; and Charles Young, £20 .	70	0	0
" 29.	Lord Erris, for the Rev. Mr. Neligan	200	0	0
Apr. 2.	F. Magan, by post to Philipstown	100	0	0
" "	Major Sirr, for Wicklow Mountains . . .	7	19	3
" 7.	do. for Mr. Cox .	11	7	6
May 2.	Mr. Marsden, for Quigley .	40	0	0
" 14.	Mr. William Corbett, for Kennedy	11	7	6
" 21.	Richard Chapman, in full of his claims for his services to Government . . .	113	15	0
" 27.	William Corbett . .	50	0	0
" "	Major Sirr, for Boyle, Carroll and Smith . . .	22	15	0
" "	Mr. Giffard, for M'Owen, of Co. Wexford . .	11	7	6
June 1.	Rev. R. Woodward, for Mr. Knox, for the Rev. Thomas Barry, P. P. of Mallow .	100	0	0
" 6.	Mr. Pollock for D. & M. .	20	0	0
" 10.	Henry Ellis, of Rochbrook, Kilkenny, for two years' allowance	60	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
June 13.	Major Sirr, for Heyden .	22	15	0
" 14.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half-a-year . .	54	3	4
" 18.	Marquis of Sligo, for persons who apprehended Thomas Gibbons	56	17	6
" 20.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
" 25.	Mr. Pollock, for J. M'G. .	100	0	0
July 16.	William Wright (*alias* Lawler), bill remitted to London	57	10	0
" 28.	Major Sirr, for informer .	17	1	3
Aug. 5.	William Corbett . .	50	0	0
" 8.	Major Swan, carriage-hire for prisoners	22	15	0
" 10.	Mr. Giffard, for informer .	22	15	0
" 11.	A Sneyd, expense of bringing up Ferrall Kiernan, a prisoner	20	0	0
" 16.	Major Sirr, for expenses .	34	2	6
" 23.	Major Sirr, for W. A. H. .	68	5	0
" 25.	Mr. Pollock, for L. M. £100; co. Meath, £10. . .	110	0	0
" 26.	Major Sirr, for Boylen, Carroll, and Farrell . .	28	8	9
" 27.	John Reilly . . .	50	0	0
" 31.	Mr. Dawes, for Nicholson .	50	0	0
" "	Mr. Giffard . . .	22	15	0
Sept. 1.	Mr. Flint, to send to E. .	20	0	0
" 2.	Major Sirr, for Fleming .	15	0	0
" 5.	Earl Annesley, for Mrs. Ford	50	0	0
" 13.	H. B. Cody . . .	100	0	0
" 14.	Mr. Marsden, for L. M. .	100	0	0
" 15.	Major Sirr, for Fleming and others	40	0	0
" "	William Corbett, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	50	0	0
" 19.	Mr. Marsden, to send M. G.	100	0	0
" 26.	The coachman taken at Emmett's depot; compensation for his loss of time, &c. per General Dunn's note .	30	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Oct. 8.	Surgeon Byrne, for attendance on Howley and Redmond	3	8	3
" "	Alex. Worthington, for B. .	30	0	0
" 12.	Mrs. M'Cabe, per Mr. Wickham's note . . .	11	7	6
" 13.	Mr. Justice Drury, going to the country . . .	11	7	6
" "	Dr. Trevor, for Ryan and Mahaffy	100	0	0
" 14.	Expenses of bringing up Stafford, Quigley, and Perrott	10	0	0
" 15.	Major Sirr, for informer for Howley and Condon .	56	17	6
" "	Do. for Pat. Farrell .	11	7	6
" "	Do. coach-hire for prisoners	25	0	0
" 19.	Capt. Hepenstal, for the persons who discovered pikes .	5	13	9
Nov. 1.	Col. Alexander, for bringing Finney from Liverpool .	15	10	9
" 2.	James Mallow, half-a-year's allowance. . . .	10	0	0
" "	Major Sirr, for Carroll and Boylan	22	15	0
" "	Do. funeral expenses of Hanlon	11	7	6
" "	Do. for assistant in his office for six weeks . .	13	13	0
" 4.	W. Corbett, by desire of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
" 5.	Finlay & Co., acc. of Richard Jones (to be replaced to this account hereafter) . .	1000	0	0
"	Chaise for C. Teeling, from the Naul	1	6	0
" 15.	Bishop of Derry (Dr. Knox) by direction of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Nov. 17.	Mr. Flint for K. £100 (returned same day) . .			
" 17.	Captain Sutherland, County Wicklow	34	2	6
" 23.	Doyle of Ballymore, for loss of time on trials, per Mr. Flint	25	0	0
" 25.	Mr. Flint, for L. . .	25	0	0
" 26.	Murphy, Castle Street, for five days diet, two men from Fort George, to identify Russell	3	0	0
" "	T. W. by direction of Mr. Marsden	100	0	0
" "	Mr. Flint, for Fleming and Finerty	11	7	6
" "	Callaghan, who gave information to General Dunn, on the 23rd July . . .	22	15	0
Dec. 1.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy .	25	0	0
" 2.	Lord Carhampton's bill for Ferris, half a year . .	54	3	4
" 5.	J. M'Gucken, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	100	0	0
" 13.	Major Sirr's expenses for retaking J. Murray or Morgan	23	13	0
" 16.	Mr. Flint, per Mr. Wickham's note, Cox . .	68	5	6
" 17.	Subsistence of Mr. Holmes and Cloney in the Tower .	4	11	0
" 19.	Mr. Flint, for Farrel's expenses from London . .	50	0	0
" 25.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy going to Belfast . . .	25	0	0
" 31.	Mr. James Cahill of Hospital, County Limerick, by Marsden's directions on Baron M'Clelland's recommendation	50	0	0

1803.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	Mr. Flint, for M. going to the Isle of Man . . .	25	0	0
1804.				
Jan. 11.	Captain Cole of the Fermanagh Militia, bringing up the rebel General Clark . .	17	10	0
" 13.	H. B. Cody, per Mr. Marsden's note . . .	100	0	0
" "	Ditto, for Campbell . .	22	15	0
" "	J. Pollock, for Col. Wolfe, for men taken up in the County Kildare	113	15	0
" 25.	W. Corbett, by Mr. Marsden's direction . . .	100	0	0
" 26.	Chaise from Naas, with Fleming, Cox, Keogh, Finnerty, and Condon . . .	3	1	9
" 27.	Rt. Hon. Col. King, for Rev. M'Nelligan of Ballina, in full	50	0	0
Feb. 4.	W. H. Hume, esq., for William Murray, who assisted in bringing in Dwyer, &c .	32	2	6
" 7.	Mr. Pollock, for M'G. .	500	0	0
" 8.	Major Sirr, for Ditton to Cork	11	7	6
" 9.	Mr. Flint, for Murphy .	200	0	0
" 10.	Troy, by direction of Mr. Marsden	50	0	0
" 13.	Richard Grandy, by Loftus, Tottenham . . .	50	0	0
" 14.	Mr. Justice Drury . .	100	0	0
" "	Mr. Pollock, for E. Herdry.	100	0	0
" 15.	Mr. Flint, for Lacey . .	34	2	6
" 16.	Mr. Griffith, for Serjeant Cox's wife . . .	11	7	6
" 21.	Mr. St. John, per Mr. Marsden's note	22	15	0
Mar. 2.	John Ditton . . .	100	0	0

The foregoing extracted items are the principal ones that are set down, but such weekly charges as those of James O'Brien, for the pay and subsistence of his staff of spies and informers, and those likewise of Hanlon, for the same species of service, are only inserted herein occasionally to shew the nature of these charges.

The sum total of the various payments, made from the 21st of August, 1797, to the 30th of September, 1801, amounted to £38,419 8*s.*

The sum total of the various payments, from the 30th of September, 1801, to the 28th of March, 1804, amounted to £15,128 5*s.* 1*d.*

The total amount is £53,547 13*s.* 1*d.*

R. R. M.

THE END.

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